

A Newspaper Devoted to the Welfare of All Workers by Hand or Brain

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LABOR AND THE TARIFF

In an editorial in The Montreal Gazette, of Dec. 11th., entitled "Labor and the Tariff", we are told that in asking for the establishment of a permanent tariff board, labor organizations are "asking for something that has been already promised." As it happens, hundreds upon hundreds of labor organizations by adopting resolutions have asked the government to appoint a permanent tariff board with a labor representative as one of its members.

We are highly delighted with a statement appearing in The Gazette that such a board has already been promised. Of course, if The Gazette says so, it must be true. However, we should be very glad to learn further details. Who promised such a tariff board? To whom was the promise made, and on what date did it occur?

There has been much talk of a general tariff revision, and of wandering commissions of investigation, but we know nothing about the promise to establish the kind of a tariff board for which the trades unionists throughout the country have been agitating. Until reading The Gazette we fondly imagined that we were the first important group to agitate and campaign for a flexible tariff board. If others have preceded us then allow us to offer proper apologies. We may be excused, however, for asking for a few little details to establish the contention that we are the last, and that we are not the first in the field.

In the end, however, we are not so much interested in whether we were first or last as we are in the fact that we want that board established.

The Gazette editorial then jumps to the conclusion that there can be no alliance between labor and the farmer, because they are so far apart on the tariff question. Is this conclusion sound?

Hitherto, the manufacturers of the Dominion have been dyed-in-the-web-stand-pat-ters, and bitter-enders for protective tariff, while labor has had an official free trade plank in its platform. As the result

of the new spirit of the time the manufacturers have receded from their former position to the compromising idea of a tariff board. Today the Canadian manufacturer, what with experience and development in his plant, has grown into a sturdy two-fisted fighter, ready to meet all comers upon a protective tariff. He will tell you in plain terms that he will stack his brains and northern energy up against his commercial rival of the south, all other things being equal, and he feels that a tariff board, while it will deny him the monopoly which

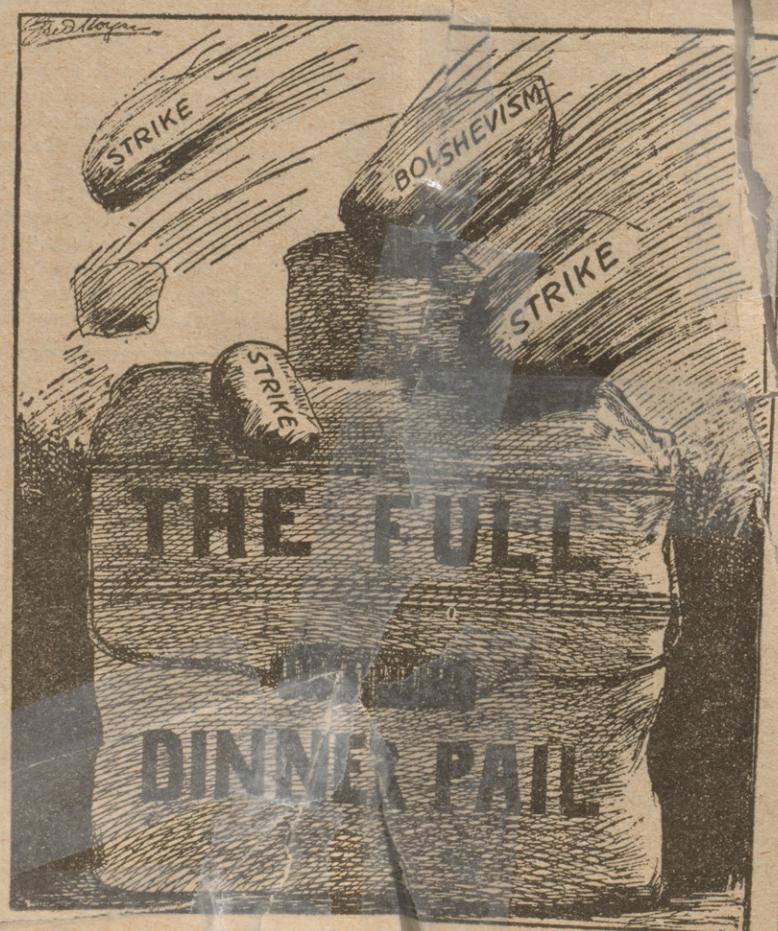
ial institutions in the United States, will enable him to equalize conditions sufficiently to give him a fighting chance, and that is all he wants.

Although ours is a paper of the workers, we are not blind or insensible to the development of the progressive spirit of the other fellow. This attitude on the part of the manufacturing interest is a mighty big thing. It is Canadian. It is big and broad, just the kind of an outlook that Canada wants and expects from every real citizen.

It is also quite evident from hundreds of resolutions the workers of the Dominion have also to feel that they seem to monopoly under a tariff board, as labor is not to be feared with a board, representative upon the due ready to protest if any unfair advantage is taken. The Canadian workman desires to see a fair, square, healthy progress in Canadian industries which will pay him honest living wages, and offer him opportunity for development of his personal ambitions. When the labor unions throughout the country endorse the idea of a tariff board, they, too, show the unselfish, big, Canadian spirit.

It still remains to be seen what the farmer group will do. Are they willing to make similar concessions, or do they want a revision which will bring into the country duty free all the principal articles which they use, while the things they have to sell enjoy protection? In other words are they going to take the big view or the narrow globe-sight-peep? If they cling to the old methods then we will know what to do. We will be able to judge whether or not they are progressive enough for us when we discover what action they take on

AS ONE PAPER SEES IT



TRYING TO PUT THE DINNER RAIL OUT OF COMMISSION.
MORGAN in Philadelphia Inquirer.

(Continued on page 4.)

Our OTTAWA LETTER

Last February, when Sir Wilfrid Laurier was laid to rest in Ottawa amid the sincere sorrow of the Canadian people, few of them thought that before another year would elapse they would be deprived of the services of his rival servant of the state, Sir Robert Borden. But now the announcement comes that the Premier's physicians, having discovered that his state of health is quite precarious and continuance in office would be positively dangerous to his life, have insisted on his immediate resignation. Sir Robert has accepted the decision and is only awaiting certain formalities to be completed in order to retire. Inevitably it will mean his final withdrawal from public life; he is now in his sixty-sixth year and the nature of his ailment is such that, whatever ground might be gained by complete rest would at once be lost by a renewal of hard work. So it may be taken for granted that Sir Robert Borden's political career is at an end, and he will take with him into retirement the good wishes of both friends and foes that he may live to enjoy many years of happy retirement.

It is difficult at this close distance to put any definite estimate upon his services to his country and his probable place in her history, but it is perhaps only history that can call some of the fortune to re-build his career. Born leading events in Loyalist Stan in 1854 of old U. E. Nova Scotia at Grand Pre, in Nova Scotia, the historic home of education, he received his early education at the local public schools and at an institution known as Acadiaville College. Teaching was his earliest profession and he was for some years on the staff of the Glenwood Institute in New Jersey. But his real ambitions lay in the direction of the law and he returned to his native province and qualified for the bar. After qualifying he secured a footing in the well-known Tupper firm in Halifax, which all through the days of the Tory regime from 1878 to 1896 waxed fat on the patronage of successive governments. But Robert Borden would have prospered at the bar without the aid of the Tupper connection and by the time he reached his fortieth year, he had acquired a great reputation as

sound and able lawyer. His family had been traditionally Liberal and his own early inclinations and votes went in the same direction. But aggressive Liberalism on the part of a member of the Tupper firm would not have been tolerated and Mr. Borden first became non-partisan and then was disposed to regard conservatism as possessing many virtues.

By this time he was not only leader of the Nova Scotia bar but one of the most prominent citizens in Halifax. So when the difficult election of 1896 came around and the Conservative party in Halifax found great difficulty in securing a candidate, Mr. Borden, under pressure from Sir Charles Tupper and on the distinct understanding that he would only sit for one term, consented to accept the nomination and was duly elected. The Tory party elsewhere met a shattering defeat and it was a most timely occasion for a young politician to enter the House of Commons. They needed talent and recruits in the worst possible way and Mr. Borden's knowledge of constitutional law and some thoughtful speeches on general politics won the respect both of his friends and opponents

in the House. He was easily the best of the Tory newcomers in 1896 and means were found to induce him to reconsider his determination to sit only one term. He was elected again in 1900, when his party was one more routed. Sir Charles Tupper then realized that the country was yearning for his restoration to office as he thought and accordingly resigned. The Tory party then found itself in desperate straits for a leader. By reason of his long service and political capacity, Sir George was the most obvious choice, but he was personally unpopular and had some serious disqualifications. What was wanted was a man with no political past; the old gang were all discredited, or without seats. They needed a leader with a clean sheet and the choice fell upon Mr. Borden, who once more tried to escape political responsibility in a more formidable shape. But the party insisted upon his acceptance in 1901 and it became obvious that his real career was to be political rather than legal. Leadership of the Opposition in face of a powerful Cabinet was no easy task for a man with only five years experience of Parliament.

Sir Robert in his early days did not shape well at his new post. His slow and somewhat formal mind was no match for the quickwitted and eloquent Laurier who was the in his prime and loyal Tories used to come away in mournful despondency after witnessing a duel between the two leaders. He fought

his first election as leader in 1904 and it was fraught with grim disaster. The Liberal majority actually increased and Mr. Borden himself was defeated in Halifax. But a seat was found for him in the safe Tory riding of Carleton and with the courteous help of Sir Wilfrid he was able to take his seat when the House met.

Sir Robert labored along at his thankless post. The country was prosperous and expansion was the order of the day, the Laurier government was cautious and conciliatory with all sections of the community and exceedingly careful not to stir up trouble by indulging in radical reforms. Sir Robert made long and ponderous speeches on governmental crimes but they did not stir the country to wrath. In 1908, the Laurier government was once more returned with an ample majority and Mr. Borden's only comfort was the recovery of his seat in Halifax. By this time complete disgust at their repeated failure to win the country's affections had come to possess the Tory party and part of their spleen was vented on their leader.

He had some loyal friends but there were many malcontents who asserted that he lacked force and energy and could never win an electoral victory. Distinguished Tories who have since sat as his colleagues talked of Mr. Borden with great contempt and a regular mutiny against in which Mr. (now Sir William Price, of Quebec, Mr. J. D. Reid and Mr. Northup were the leading spirits developed against him in 1909. The late Sir Richard McBride, of B. C., a man of fire and resolution, was talked of as his probable successor and Sir Robert, who discovered the conspiracy, was willing to resign. But friends dissuaded him and he did one of the cleverest things of his life. He organized a great banquet of the Tory party, at Ottawa, and invited Sir Richard and other claimants to his throne to deliver speeches. This they gleefully did and when the gathering had listened to them and to Sir Robert, who took care to

speak last, they straightway confirmed him in his leadership.

But still the prospects of success were not good till the reciprocity issue loomed up in 1911. Mr. Borden himself was disposed to accept the pact at first, but the word went forth from higher powers that it must be resisted to the bitter end and the hosts were marshalled to the fray. There is no need now to recapitulate the history of the unfortunate election, whose result was a unique example of political folly and shortsightedness. But the unsavory alliance between the Imperialist Tories and the anti-Imperialist Nationalists was brought to pass, reciprocity was defeated, and Robert Borden became Premier of Canada. Perhaps of all the episodes of his political career the tactics of the election which wafted him into power afford least pride to Sir Robert in his retrospective moments. At any rate they impaired his moral authority with a large section of the country from the start and hampered him in the process of Cabinet making. In the first place he had to give seats to three Nationalists and abandon the policy of a Canadian Navy to which he had assented in 1909. He had to embark on the dangerous and unwholesome plan of contribution and endure a rebuff at the hands of the Senate. Secondly his condonation of purely electioneering tactics placed him at the mercy of the electioneering experts and he was unable to secure the Cabinet of his own preference. He had to take in Mr. Robert Rogers as his old man of the sea for years and it is notorious that the Premier himself had originally no intention of calling upon the services of Mr. J. D. Reid and Mr. Martin Burrell.

So he did not make the best of starts in his official career and the performances of his Government in the next three years did not beget confidence with the electorate, who with the conclusion of the great boom of expansion were beginning to reach a critical frame of mind. The Opposition grew in strength and popularity and an election in 1915 would have gone ill with Sir Robert who, after a visit to England and participation in an Imperial Conference, was endowed with a knighthood.

But the war intervened and the whole political situation changed. The voice of party strife was stilled and the opposition lent every facility to the Government in the furtherance of all necessary war measures. They properly reserved for themselves the right to criticise graft and mismanagement and soon had occasion to exercise it. Sir Robert himself was tireless in his labors but he allowed too free scope to two of the least desirable of his colleagues, Sir Sam Hughes and Mr. Rogers, and their performances in their respective spheres soon brought public indignation to the boiling point. Sir Robert was loath to part with them but in the end they had to go and he found him-

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LABOR AND THE TARIFF

(Continued from page 1.)

the permanent tariff board. Two very important groups have taken a stand on this issue in no uncertain terms. At the present writing the progressive farmers are lagging far behind.

Again we append a further list of organizations which have recently endorsed and supported a resolution for the establishment of a permanent tariff board:—

Bro. Railway Carmen No. 619, Toronto, Ont.

Amal. Sheet Metal Workers Inter. Alliance No. 30, Toronto, Ont.

United Patternmakers Asso. No. 1, Toronto, Ont.

Inter. Bro. Railway Stationmen No. 172, Toronto, Ont.

Maintenance of Way Emp. No. 60, Toronto, Ont.

Ont. Provincial Council of Machinists No. 1277, London, Ont.

Amal. Sheet Metal Workers No. 673, London, Ont.

Amal. Society of Engineers, Hamilton, Ont.

Amal. Society of Engineers, Hamilton, Ont.

United Bro. of Carpenters and Joiners (District Council of Hamilton), Hamilton, Ont.

Building Trades Council, Hamilton, Ont.

Bro. Railway Carmen No. 552, Hamilton, Ont.

Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo Ry. Shopmen's Fed. No. 38, Hamilton, Ont.

Plumbers and Steamfitters' Union No. 186, Brantford, Ont.

Pattern Makers League of North America, Brantford, Ont.

Railway Conductors Union No. 645, Ottawa, Ont.

Can. Bro. Railway Employees No. 110, Ottawa, Ont.

Building Trades Council, Ottawa, Ont.

Inter. Alliance Theatrical Stage Emp. No. 295, Regina.

United Bro. of Carpenters No. 1867, Regina.

Bro. of Ry. Carmen of America No. 345, Regina.

Journeymen Stone Cutters Ass'n. of North A., Regina.

Cyclone Lodge Bro. of Loco. Firemen and Emp. No. 696, Regina.

Inter. Bro. of Bookbinders No. 205, Regina.

Cigar Makers Inter. Union of America No. 459, Saskatoon.

Teamsters and Chauffeurs Union No. 455, Saskatoon.

Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers Inter. Union No. 3, Saskatoon.

Inter. Asso. of Machinists No. 598, Sutherland.

Bro. of Loco. Engineers No. 793, Sutherland.

Int. Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employees of U. S. and Can. No. 496, Prince Albert.

United Bro. of Maintenance of

Way Emp. No. 169, Melville.
Bro. of Loco. Firemen and Enginemen No. 697, North Battleford.
Bro. of Loco. Engineers No. 716, North Battleford.
Order of Railway Conductors No. 573, Fort William, Ont.
Carpet Weavers Ass'n., Peterboro, Ont.
Can. Bro. of Ry. Employees No. 125, Owen Sound, Ont.
United Garment Workers of America No. 270, Waterloo, Ont.
Inter. Union of United Brewery F. C. V. Soft Drink Workers No. 170, Waterloo, Ont.
Inter. Bro. of Maintenance of Way Emp. and Ry. Shop Laborers No. 406, Bluevale, Ont.
United Ass'n Steamfitters and Plumbers No. 731, Welland, Ont.
United Bro. of Maintenance of Way Emp. and Ry. Shop Laborers No. 214, Priceville, Ont.
Locomotive Engineers No. 852, Kingston, Ont.
Lindsay Musician Protective Ass'n No. 733, Lindsay, Ont.
United Bro. of Maintenance of Way Emp. and Ry. Shop Laborers No. 163, Guelph, Ont.
Toronto Laborers Union, Toronto, Ont.
Toronto Building Trades League, Toronto, Ont.
Metal Spinners' Ass'n of Toronto, Toronto, Ont.
Amal. Society of Engineers No. 1190, Toronto, Ont.
Journeymen's Barbers Federation of Ontario (19 Locals Affiliated), Toronto, Ont.
Stone Masons No. 26, Toronto, Ont.
Federal Labor Union No. 16535, Sarnia, Ont.
Stone Cutters of Montreal, Montreal.
Int. Bro. Stationary Firemen and Oilers No. 345, Montreal.
Iron Moulders' Union No. 331, Montreal.
Amal. Lithographers of America No. 31, Montreal.
United Textile Workers of America No. 1229, Montreal.
Int. Bro. Railway Stationmen No. 188, Montreal.
Amal. Ass'n of Street Electric Ry. Emp. of America, Div. 709, Montreal.
Bro. Painters Decorators and Paperhangers (District Council No. 15) Montreal.
Millinery and Ladies' Straw Hat Workers No. 48, Montreal.
Union Brewery No. 60, Richmond, Que.
Amal. Ass'n. of Street and Electric Ry. Emp. No. 591, Aylmer, Que.
Federal Labor No. 16575, Halifax, N. S.
Steamfitters of Halifax, No. 56, Halifax, N. S.
United Mine Workers of America No. 25, Sydney, N. S.
United Mine Workers of America No. 4538, Sydney, N. S.
Maintenance of Way Emp. and Ry. Shop Laborers No. 188, Upper Woodstock, N. B.
Bro. of Loco. Engineers No. 885, Moncton, N. B.
Federated Council, McAdam Jet., N. B.
United Bro. of Maintenance of Way Emp. No. 197, Yorkton, Sask.
Can. Bro. Railway Employees No. 80, Saskville, N. S.
N. Mine Workers of America No. 4537, Glace Bay, N. S.
United Bro. Maintenance of Way Emp. No. 170, Perth Centre, N. S.
United Bro. Maintenance of Way Emp. No. 534, Lake Annis, N. S.
Inter. Bro. Maintenance of Way Emp. No. 406, New Waterford, N. S.
St. John, N. B. Union No. 15964, St. John, N. B.
Bro. Railroad Trainmen No. 270, Bro. Railroad Trainmen No. 270, United Bro. Maintenance of Way Emp. No. 165.
United Bro. Maintenance of Way Emp. No. 250.
United Bro. Maintenance of Way Emp. No. 227.
United Bro. Maintenance of Way Emp. No. 2446.
United Mine Workers of America No. 2163.
Bro. of Loco. Engineers No. 854.
United Bro. Maintenance of Way Emp. No. 151.
Bro. Maintenance of Way Emp. No. 219, O'Leary Sta., Que.
United Bro. Maintenance of Way Emp. No. 373.
Bro. of Loco. Engineers No. 797.
Sign Painters No. 1024, Montreal.
Can. Bro. Railway Employees No. 64.
Lift Lock Lodge No. 435.
Inter. Bro. P. S. and P. M. W. No. 67.
Boot and Shoe Workers No. 257.
Inter. Bro. of Maintenance of Way Emp. No. 152.
Federal Labor Union No. 15959.
United Bro. Maintenance of Way Emp. No. 244.
United Bro. Maintenance of Way Emp. No. 20.
United Bro. Maintenance of Way Emp. No. 260.
Atlantic Coast Dist. Int. Longshoremen' Assn. No. 50.
Inter. Bro. Electrical Workers No. 339.
Bro. Railway Carmen of America No. 353.
Bro. Railway Steamship Clerks, Freight Handlers, Express and Station Emp. No. 605.
Inter. Bro. of Stationary Firemen No. 329, Thorold, Ont.
Bro. Loco. Engineers No. 189, Belleville, Ont.
Can. Bro. of Railroad Employees No. 114, Hamilton, Ont.
Moving Picture Operators Union No. 173, Toronto, Ont.
Amalgamated Society of Engineers No. 1189, Toronto, Ont.
United Bro. of Carpenters and Joiners No. 666, New Toronto, Ont.
Bricklayers, Masons and Plasterers' Union No. 12, Kitchener, Ont.
United Leather Workers No. 33, Kingston, Ont.
Bro. of Loco. Engineers No. 528, London, Ont.
Musicinas No. 633, St. Thomas, Ont.
Musicians Protective Ass'n. No. 406, Montreal, Que.
Bro. Railway Carmen of America No. 234, Montreal, Que.
Inter. Bro. of Pulp Sulphite and Paper Mills Workers No. 62, Cap Madeleine, Que.
Bricklayers, Masons Inter. Union No. 3, Sherbrooke, Que.
Uniter Bro. Maintenance of Way Emp. No. 533, Duncan, B.C.
United Bro. of Carmen and Joiners No. 2004, Victoria, B. C.
Inter. Bro. Ship Builders & Helpers No. 191, Victoria, B. C.
Water Works Operators No. 10, Winnipeg, Man.
United Bro. of Maintenance of Way Emp. No. 370, Neepawa, Man.
One Big Union No. 4, Coleman.
United Mine Workers of America No. 3249, Lovett.
Journeymen Stonecutters of North America, Calgary, Alta.
Bro. Railway Trainmen No. 847, Sutherland, B. C.
United Mine Workers No. 4512, Inverness, N. S.
Inter. Bro. of Steam Shovel and E. No. 47, Halifax, N. S.
Bro. of Loco. Firemen and Engineers No. 413, Charlottetown.
Can. Bro. of Ry. Employees No. 9568, Charlottetown.
Order of Ry. Conductors No. 255, Medicine Hat.
One Big Union No. 20, Drumheller.
United Mine Workers No. 1263, Blairmore.
20, Charlottetown.
Laborers' Protective Union No. Glass Bottle Blowers Ass'n No. 18, Montreal, Que.
Amal. Ass'n. of Street & Electric Ry. Emp. of A. No. 700, Cobalt, Ont.
Federation Musicians No. 453, Welland, Ont.
Stereotypers and Electrotypers No. 113, Hamilton, Ont.
Ass'n. of Street Ry. Emp. of America No. 107, Hamilton, Ont.
Bro. Loco. Firemen & Engineers No. 15, Montreal.
Bro. of Maintenance of Way Employees No. 152, Coteau Station, Que.
Civie Employees Unit. No. 3, Port Arthur, Ont.
Journeymen Tailors Union No. 149, Hamilton, Ont.
Bro. of Loco. Firemen & Engineers No. 136, Lindsay, Ont.
Bricklayers & Masons No. 19, Collingwood, Ont.
Garment Workers of America No. 274, Welland, Ont.
Ass'n. of Street & Electric Ry. Emp. of America, No. 846, St. Catharines, Ont.
Bro. of Painters, Decorators and Paper Hangers of America No. 629, Windsor, Ont.
Inter. Ass'n. of Machinists No. 852, North Bay, Ont.
Inter. Bro. of Electric Workers No. 498, Port Arthur, Ont.
Ass'n. of Street and Electric Ry. Emp. of America No. 743, Port Arthur, Ont.
Bro. Railway Carmen of America No. 616, Brockville, Ont.
Bricklayers and Masons No. 1, Vancouver, B. C.
Bro. Loco. Firemen and Engineers No. 258, Kamloops, B. C.
Bro. of Carpenters and Joiners No. 285, Trail, B. C.
Tyographical Union No. 337, Naimo, B. C.

Loco. Firemen and Enginemen No. 341, Revelstoke, B. C.	O. Plasterers and C. F. Inter. Ass'n. No. 159, London, Ont.	Bro. of Ry. Carmen of America No. 530, Edmonton, Alta.	Inter. Wood Carvers Ass'n., Montreal.
Typographical Union No. 632, New westminster, B. C.	United Brewery and Soft Drink Workers No. 312, Hamilton, Ont.	United Garment Workers No. 120, Edmonton, Alta.	United Bro. of Cabinet Makers, Carpenters and Joiners No. 247, Montreal.
Mine Workers of America No. 2334, Michel, B. C.	Inter. Bro. of Loco. Engineers No. 133, Hamilton, Ont.	Int. Bro. and Shipbuilders of America No. 271, Trenton, Ont.	Operative Plasterers Union No. 33, Montreal.
Printing Pressmen and Assistants No. 79, Victoria, B. C.	Patternmakers L. of North America, Hamilton, Ont.	Plumbers and Steamfitters No. 46, Toronto.	Inter. Bro. of Bookbinders No. 91, Montreal.
Stereotypers No. 129, Edmonton, Alta.	Boot and Shoe Cutters No. 232, Hamilton, Ont.	Upholsterers and Trimmers Int. Union No. 30, Toronto.	Bakery and Confectionery Workers Int. Union of America No. 115, Montreal.
Bro. of Railway Carmen of America No. 398, Edmonton, Alta.	Inter. Bro. of Electrical Workers No. 105, Hamilton, Ont.	Ry. Employees of America No. 796, Guelph.	Carpenters and Joiners No. 178, Montreal.
Bro. of Loco. Engineers No. 750, Lethbridge, Alta.	Inter. Bro. of B. Helpers No. 105, Hamilton, Ont.	Journeymen, Boilermakers' T. Union of America No. 632, Cranbrook, B. C.	Inter. Bro. of Electric Workers No. 568, Montreal.
Amal. Ass'n. Street and Electric Ry. Emp. of America No. 588, Regina, Sask.	Wood, Wire & M. S. Int. No. 145, Hamilton, Ont.	One Big Union No. 1, Hedley, B. C.	Policemen Federal Labor Union No. 62, Montreal.
Inter. Moulders' Union of North America No. 324, Sydney, N. S.	Bro. of Loco. Engineers No. 479, Fairville, N. B.	Bro. of Steam and Operating Engineers No. 2, Moose Jaw, Sask.	Bro. of Painters and Dec. of America No. 349, Montreal.
Inter. Longshoremen's Ass'n. No. 273, St. John, N. B.	Atlas Local, Drumheller, Alta.	Int. Asso. of Machinist No. 604, Quebec, Can.	Pattern Makers League of North America, Montreal.
Inter. Typographical Union No. 700, Brandon, Man.	Bro. of Maintenance of Way Emp. No. 798, Arley, Alta.	Bro. of Loco. Engineers No. 509, Souris, Man.	Inter. Spinners No. 1, Montreal.
United Ass'n. of Plumbers, Journeymen and Gas Fitters No. 332, Winnipeg, Man.	Bro. of Maintenance of Way Emp. and Railway Shop Laborers No. 229, Sirdar, B. C.	Bro. of Maintenance of Way Emp. and Ry. Shop Laborers No. 218, Charlottetown, P.E.I.	Grand Trunk Local (Blacksmiths), Montreal.
United Brewery and Soft Drink Workers of America No. 105, Winnipeg, Man.	Brewery Soft Drink and Cereal Mill Workers No. 308, Cranbrook, B. C.	Typographical Union No. 575, Port Arthur, Ont.	Inter. Bro. of Maintenance of Way Emp. No. 148, Verdun, Que.
Jacques-Cartier No. 145, Montreal.	Telegraphers' Union of America No. 1, Vancouver, B. C.	Bro. of Carpenters No. 498, Brantford, Ont.	Inter. Ass'n. of Machinists No. 111, Montreal.
Bro. of Railroad Employees No. 70, Stratford, Ont.	Commercial Telegraphers' Union, Montreal, Que.	Carpenters and Joiners' Union No. 1338, Jonquière, Que.	Bro. of Railway Carmen of America No. 72, Montreal.
Bro. of Railroad Stationmen No. 175, Stratford, Ont.	United Bro. of Maintenance of Way Emp. and Ry. Shop Laborers No. 53, Sorel, Que.	Bro. of Loco. Engineers No. 822, Bridgewater, N. S.	Cigarmakers Inter. Union No. 58, Montreal.
Inter. Alliance of Theatrical Stage Emp. No. 58, Toronto.	International Brotherhodo No. 200, Levis, Que.	Bro. of Loco. Firemen and Engineers No. 852, Kamsack, Sask.	National Ass'n. of Marine Engineers of Can. No. 5, Montreal.
Amal. Engineers No. 1187, Toronto.	Granite Cutters Inter. Ass'n., Halifax, N. S.	Bro. of Railroad Carmen No. 147, Sutherland, Sask.	Int. Moulders Union No. 21, Montreal.
Boilermakers, Iron Ship Builders and Helpers No. 128, Toronto.	Inter. Moulders' Union No. 207, Toronto.	Bro. of Railroad Employees No. 55, Edson, Alta.	United Bro. of Carpenters and Joiners No. 1244, Montreal.
United Bro. of Maintenance of Way Emp. & Ry. Shop Laborers No. 163, Guelph, Ont.	Inter. Bro. of Maintenance of Way Emp., Div. No. 419, Toronto.	Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers No. 749, Port Arthur, On.	Sheet Metal Workers Alliance No. 116, Montreal.
Bro. of Loco. Firemen and Engineers No. 756, Toronto.	United Bro. of Carpenters & Joiners of America No. 1799, Toronto.	Bro. of Boilermakers and Iron Ship Building No. 398, Rivière-du-Loup, Que.	Journeymen Barbers Int. Union No. 455, Montreal.
Bro. of Carpenters and Joiners of America No. 2230, Owen Sound, Ont.	S. and Operating Engineers No. 152, W. Toronto.	Inter. Bro. of Bookbinders No. 105, Vancouver, B.C.	Inter. Bro. Teamster No. 360, Montreal.
St. George's Lodge No. 599, St. John, N. B.	Inter. Bro. of Electrical Workers No. 353, Toronto.	Operative Plasterers and Cement Workers No. 578, Montreal.	Bro. Railway Employees No. 39, Montreal.
London Police Federation No. 26, London, Ont.	Bro. of Painters and Decorators No. 151, Toronto.	Inter. Photo Engraver Union No. 9, Montreal.	United Ass'n. of Plumbers, Steamfitters and Helpers No. 292, Montreal.
Federal Labor Union No. 5, London, Ont.	Bro. of Loco. Firemen and Engineers No. 262, Toronto.	Amal. Society of Engineers No. 853, Lachine.	Canadian Broker No. 21, Montreal.
Bill Posters and Billers No. 22, London, Ont.	The G. C. Inter. Ass'n. of America, Toronto.	Bro. of R. Trainmen, National Lodge No. 880, La Tuque, Que.	Int. Fur Workers of Montreal No. 66, Montreal.
Can. Bro. of Ry. Emp. No. 996, London, Ont.	Inter. Bro. of Blacksmiths & Helpers No. 318, Toronto.	United Bro. of Maintenance of Way Emp. and Ry. Shop Laborers No. 337, La Tuque, Que.	I. A. T. S. C. & M. P. O. of U. S. & Canada No. 56, Montreal.
Journeymen Stone Cutters of North America, London, Ont.	Inter. Slate and Tile R. Union No. 39, Toronto.	Union de Toreedorer de Havano, Montreal.	Sheet Metal Workers No. 251, Montreal.
Inter. Moulders' Union of North America No. 37, London, Ont.	The C. C. and T. Protective Ass'n. No. 185, Toronto.	Bro. of P. D. and Paperhangers of America, No. 359, Montreal.	Bro. of Painters No. 15, Montreal.
Boot and Shoe Workers' Union No. 88, London, Ont.	Cement Finishers No. 598, Toronto.	Amal. Society of Engineers No. 1, St. Lambert.	Quebec Pressmen No. 152, Quebec.
Metal Polishers, Buffers & Plasterers No. 32, London, Ont.	Cigar Makers' Inter. Union No. 27, Toronto, Ont.	Inter. Ass'n. of Machinist No. 711, Montreal.	Can. Bro. of Railroad Emp. No. 71, Quebec.
Can. Ass'n. of Stat. Engineers, London, Ont.	Amal. Society of Carpenters and Joiners No. 2639, Toronto.	Amal. Lithogrpahers of America No. 27, Montreal.	United Bro. of Carpenters and Joiners of America, Quebec.
Inter. Brewery Workers No. 381, London, Ont.	United Bro. of Carpenters & Joiners of America No. 27, Toronto.	Inter. A. of Machinists Brass Workers Lodge No. 785, Montreal.	Bro. of R. Trainmen No. 509, Quebec.
Bro. of Ry. Carmen of America No. 488, London, Ont.	Inter. Leather Garmen Cutters No. 83, Toronto.	Granite Cutters' Ass'n., Montreal.	Order of Railroad Filegraphers No. 115, Quebec.
Plumbers and S. of London No. 593, London, Ont.	American Federation of Musicians No. 497, Lethbridge, Alta.	St. Henry No. 606, Montreal.	L'Union Protectrice des Cordonniers Monteurs, Quebec.
Cigar Makers' Local No. 278, London, Ont.	Amal. Asso. of Street and Electric No. 583, Lethbridge, Alta.	Musicians Protective Union No. 119, Quebec.	Musicians Protective Union No. 119, Quebec.
Boilermakers' Union No. 203, London, Ont.	Plumbers' and Steamfitters Union No. 324, Victoria, B. C.		
Musicians' Union No. 279, London, Ont.	Cooks', Waiters' & Waitresses Union No. 459, Victoria, B. C.		
Inter. Bro. of Boilermakers and Helpers No. 203, London, Ont.	Bro. of Railroad Trainmen No. 39, Palmerston, Ont.		
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OUR SCOTTISH LETTER

Glasgow, November 29.

There is serious unrest among the workers of all classes regarding the stoppage of the unemployment relief payments by the government. One of the strongest arguments against the payment was its demoralizing effect on the recipient, but this argument applies equally to the use of the National Relief Fund to meet cases of distress caused by the stoppage of what is described as the "dole".

It is certain, however, that the fund will be drawn upon largely, because scores of thousands of unemployed workers will have to depend upon grants from this fund or upon Poor Law relief, or other forms of charity. The trade unions are unable to cope with the situation. Some of the unions pay unemployment benefit up to a limited amount, but in the main the organizations of unskilled men and women workers do not, because they have never been able to obtain a contribution large enough to cover a liability of this kind. Where benefit is paid the scale was fixed on the basis of pre-war money values, and consequently it is now quite inadequate to provide the bare necessities for even a small family.

The Amalgamated Society of Engineers pays 10s. a week, but the unskilled or semi-skilled men in the industry belong to the various unions of general workers, and these, with only one or two exceptions, do not pay unemployment benefit. As these men are in an insured industry they are entitled to 7s. a week from the insurance funds, and those who belong to the National Union of General

Workers will receive a further 3s., for which they contribute an extra 1d. a week. The members of this union who are not engaged in insured industries have no benefit of any kind to fall back upon, and the majority of the unemployed women workers are in the same position.

The members of the National Union of Clerks are not equally affected. This society has several scale of contributions, covering ordinary trade union benefits alone or additional benefits for sickness and unemployment. The great majority, however, could not afford a comprehensive contribution before the war, with the result that very few of the large number who are now unemployed will receive out-of-work pay from the union. The officials regard with anxiety the stoppage of the dole without any constructive substitute.

Officials of the National Federation of Women Workers are afraid that a large number of their members will be driven by the fear of acute poverty to accept low wages and so help to depress the general level of wages in the trades where a standard has been forced up above the minimum, or where a Trade Board minimum has not yet been established.

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It is pointed out that the Trade Board programme of the Labor Ministry is still far from completion. The Ministry is not blamed for this, because it is recognized that the process of setting up boards and conducting the necessary inquiries is a slow one. The point emphasized by the union officials is that something should have been done before stopping the dole to protect the workers in these low-paid and weakly-organized trades from the very real danger of lowering wages by increasing the competition for the work that is available.

Building Trade.

A curious situation has developed in the Scottish Building Trade on account of the expiry of the wages

Temporary Regulation Act this month. A request for 2s. 3d. per hour as a flat rate over Scotland was presented to the employers and to the Arbitration Court in October, in accordance with the war-time agreement for regulation of wages by four monthly periodical reviews. In the hope of coming to a settlement, representatives of both sides met in Glasgow on 3rd November, but no agreement was reached, and arbitration was, as on previous occasions, resorted to as a way out of a difficulty. Repeated attempts have been made to get a date for a hearing fixed, but without success. Now the Wages Temporary Regulation Act and the Arbitration Courts set up by them have ceased to exist, and still no agreement has been reached by the parties.

Meantime, the Engineering, Shipbuilding and Ship Repairing, Foundry and other trades, with whose wage advances those in the Building Trades have in recent times invariably synchronized, start on a 5s. per week advance on 1st December. The building trade operatives are daily becoming more restive, and threats of direct and immediate action are rife.

Railway Danger.

It is understood that the railway negotiations on the subject of wages have reached a critical stage, and there is danger that another deadlock may arise. Very little progress has been made with standardization. Rates have been proposed on behalf of the Government and the railway companies which the Union officials are unable to recommend for acceptance. The wages figures submitted by the Government were in some cases 5s. or 6s. per week better than the previous time. The representatives of the employers' side take the view that they have reached the end of their power and they are urging the Prime Minister to widen the terms of reference. It has to be remembered that the recent delegate conference of the National Union of Railwaymen, while authorizing the Executive to continue negotiations, made it clear that a conclusion must be arrived at without delay.

A new point arises in connection with war wages. The railway work-



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ers' wages at present include 33s. per week war wage. The recent award of a further 5s. to railway shop workers may make it necessary to apply for a similar increase for other grades, irrespective of the present negotiations.

The railway shopmen associated with the Springburn Railway Shops' Federation of Trades Unions of Glasgow have rejected an offer of the district rate of wages, less 1/2d. per hour, a deduction made in lieu of the privileges granted by the railway companies in regard to tickets, etc. Their instruction to the Federation is to get the Railway Executive and the Board of Trade to make every endeavor to have the district rate of wages fully granted on both the Caledonian and the North British Railway Systems.

Moulders' Strike.

A sensational turn has taken place in connection with the projected strike of iron moulders in Scotland. The strike notices expired this week, but at a meeting of the Executive Council of the Associated Iron Moulders of Scotland it was decided not to proceed with the strike, and instructions were sent out to all members to withdraw their strike notices. No explanation has been given for the sudden change. The men are counselled to remain loyally at work pending further instructions. No change in the position in England is reported.

All the tradesmen in the Dalmellington Iron works have now been on strike for a week to win the payment of district rates. At present they are paid 7s. 6d. to 15s. a week less than the union minimum. The employers have offered an advance if the strikers will forego "privileges", such as cheap coal, but as these privileges are given to miners and iron workers without reduction in earnings, the tradesmen claim the same rights and have refused the employers' offer.

Bakers' New Terms.

At a meeting of the Scottish Bakers' Industrial Council in Glasgow this week, it was agreed that the recent award of an increase of 5s. a week should come into force as from the 3rd November also. The other points of the agreement include the retention of the 44 hours week, a minimum of six days' holiday annually with pay, double time for holiday and Sunday work, and only members of the Operative Bakers' Union to be employed. Apprentices are not to start at the trade before 16 years or later than 18 years, and are to serve five years before being recognized as journeymen. The agreement, which benefits over 8,000 employees, is to remain operative for at least four months, and any change after that date must be preceded by three months notice.

The Stoneworkers.

Under the auspices of the Parliamentary Committee of the Scottish Trades Union Congress, a conference will take place on an early

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date which, it is confidently believed, will result in an important amalgamation in connection with the Scottish building trade. The unions concerned are the United Operative Masons and Granite Cutters' Union, with headquarters at Aberdeen; the United Operative Masons Association of Scotland; the Amalgamated Society of Tile-fixers and Marble Workers; and the Paviors' Union. In all of them is a strong feeling of amalgamation. It is felt that the days of small sectional unions are over, and that by the proposed amalgamation it will be possible to form one powerful union embracing all the masons and stoneworkers of Scotland.

Scalers' Wages.

As the result of arbitration pro-

ceedings between the British Seafarers' Union and the principal boiler sealing employers held in Glasgow this week, certain concessions have been made to sealing workers. The 12½ per cent. bonus at present being received by boiler-sealers will be merged into wages, and an increase will be granted which will bring the daily wage up to 14s. Tank sealers will benefit similarly as regards their bonus, and their daily wage will be brought up to 14s. 2d. Mr. E. Shinwell conducted the case for the men, and Mr. James Donald, advocate, acted as arbiter. A number of other matters in dispute will be considered on an early date.

James Gibson.

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Labor's Large Gains In London Elections

The outstanding feature of the recent municipal elections held in London was the large number of seats captured by the Labor candidates. In the last election, held in 1912, only 48 seats were secured by the Labor and Socialist parties, but in the recent elections they secured 571 seats, and they now control 12 borough councils.

Another feature of the elections, as was pointed out in "The Times", was the large increase in the number of women candidates who were elected. In 1912, the women candidates only secured 22 seats, while at the recent election they captured over 100 out of the 200 seats which they contested.

The party representation on the different councils is given in the following table which includes Labor (L.); Municipal Reformers (M.R.); Progressives (P.); Independents (I.) and other parties (O.P.):

	New council	Old council
	L. M.R. P. I.M.R.O.P.	
Battersea	41 11 .. .	24 32
Bermondsey	24 2 27	1 ..
Bethnal-green	24 0 6 ..	8 22
Camberwell	32 23 3 2	45 15
Chelsea	8 28 .. .	36 ..
Deptford	21 7 2 6	24 12
Finsbury	5 32 17 ..	48 6
Fulham	23 11 2 ..	36 2
Greenwich	20 10 .. .	20 10
Hackney	32 15 13 ..	37 23
Hammer-smith	13 19 2 2	31 5
Holborn	2 39 .. .	38 5
Islington	44 16 .. .	54 6
Hampstead	3 38 .. 1	32 10
Kensington	6 54 .. .	52 8
Lambeth	21 24 15 ..	56 4
Lewisham	8 18 16 ..	42 ..
Paddington	21 39 .. .	45 15
Poplar	39 2 .. 1	29 13
St. Marylebone	7 52 .. 1	54 6
St. Pancras	29 24 7 ..	46 14
Shoreditch	32 6 4 ..	25 17
Southwark	30 8 22 ..	29 31
Stepney	43 5 13 ..	34 26
Stoke Newington	6 .. . 24 ..	30
Wandsworth	13 46 .. 1	57 3
Westminster	60 .. . 59	1
Woolwich	25 11 .. . 21	15

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Books for Children

WHEN many parents and others are thinking of gifts of books for children, perhaps it is the time to suggest that some of the "popular" fairy tales and other stories are far from suitable for young minds. It may seem, to those who love to stick to custom, almost a sacrilege to ask the question, but, really, have we ever stopped to consider what dreams of horror, what restless nights, what distorted fancies of children might be directly attributed to, for instance, "Blue Beard", "Red Riding Hood" and "Jack and the Beanstalk", with all their gruesome appurtenances? Then, coming to modern "popular" books for children, what of the impression on the kiddies of the domestic affairs of "Jiggs" and "Mary", or the devilishness of the "Shenanigan Twins"? Don't buy books just because they are "popular" or "good old books". Please try to think of how much healthy fun and interest you are bringing to the little ones. Thinking so, you will leave many of the "popular" and "old-fashioned books" on the shelves.

A Mockery of Christmas

(From "Social Welfare", Toronto, organ of the Social Service Councils of Canada.)

Peace on Earth! Good Will Towards Men!" or as the revised version reads, "Peace on Earth to Men of Goodwill." We shall write it on our Christmas cards. We shall blazon it from our Christmas banners, and across our Church chancels it will be hung in letters of red and gold; it will be the text of a thousand sermons, and the greetings of a thousand, thousand throats

"Peace on earth, good will towards men", and as we say it, we mock the heavenly harbinger of Christ, whose birthday greeting came thus to us, through the voice of angels. Nay, we mock the very Christ Child Himself, calling "Peace! Peace!" when there is no peace, no peace in the heart, no peace in the mind, no peace in the soul of man. From unworthy mouths, and thoughtless hearts, we drop the words of Divine greeting — unheeding that they are in very truth a prayer. "May there be peace upon earth and good will towards men."

And tritely the words drop from our tongues. Into the world of today they go — "Peace! Peace! Peace!" with brother at the throat of brother, and the hand of man raised against the hand of man. True the slaughter and the carnage, the war of force and material things is past, and strong youth falls low in red loss no more. But the war goes on, and in the old, old strife there is no peace.

Man against man we stand; the man of power, harnailed against the man who struggles up beneath him; eyes of envy and hatred turned from below towards the man who sits above; in the market the rush and riot of business; the jangle of bargaining and the stress of strife. Here there is no strong sympathy, no seeking out of the weak by the strong, that succour and help may be offered in the heat of the noonday, "Peace!"

but the cold, keen eye of calculation: the strong, high brow of enterprise; the firm, clenching hand of success, while beneath the hurrying feet of those who rush onwards, the weakling is ground into the mush of battle places. And here, for one day, the sound of money changing is stilled, while it is "Peace on earth; good will towards men."

And in the workshop there is no longer the springing step of the toiler, who sings at his task, and the warm grasp of the master-workman-friend. But surly submission, regulated service, and conscious superiority pervade the highly efficient plant of the "greatest producing factory in this line in the city." And to-day its blinds are down and its doors locked, because it is "Peace on earth; good will towards men!"

And on the side street that runs down, behind the Cathedral sheds, a gaudy woman lurches towards a house of crimson brilliance, "Lor' love me! but she'll be made to-night! I 'ad no right to be late to-night; she'll be busy to-night she will. Lor' but Maudie's in for a drubbing to-night! And on through the hateful street she goes, she, even one of these, for whom the message rang. And behind her, the Cathedral chimes ring out "Peace on earth, good will towards men!"

"Peace!" we say, "Peace on earth!" and all the while we breed those things which mean that peace, peace itself can never be. Our glib phrase slips into "the quarter", when row on row, the dirty, crowded buildings shoulder each other for space on the filthy street. And within, who can say what degradation and ignorance; what suffering and cruelty; what deprivation and disease; what things beyond our belief are bred, flourish and pass, while we deck our ways with the holly and the pine and call "Peace! Peace!" and the harpy of derision shrieks to the unblinking skies "Peace! Peace!"

Yea, it is peace upon earth, while we send yearly to their death ten thousand babes; and how many, more or less, saved to be food for our prisons, our refuges, because we sing our lays of peace and ease, when the world runs red and grey in its suffering and squalor.

Whole generations rise, live out their lives, and pass, knowing nothing higher than the bare struggle for life; wringing from who may say what wonderful depths of character, vitality and consolation for the intolerable burden of life? "Peace! Peace!" we cry to the hungry child, and the man desperate because he cannot still that low bleating for a little food. And separated from the hovel, where he has housed his home and hopes, by a few acres of buildings and business, the palatial quarters and luxurious surroundings of his brother do not suffice to feed the world weariness and ennui of a life, that grows drab in satiety of desire. And through the great bay windows, into the flower-banked, soft-rugged rooms the Christmas monbeam steals, and smiles "Peace! Peace!" to the cultured hollowness of too great wealth.

And the maimed figure of a man, hopping awkwardly on his crutches, over the uneven snow surfaces, casts a shadow before the impressive, lighted portico, that leads from the great house to the street. About his mouth there are firm lines, and an abandon to the shapeless cap that sits upon the back of the greyed head. "Peace!" he grins, "Peace!" And before his mind there stretches that silent plain below Kemmel Hill, silent now, silent save in all its soft curved mounds; silent save for the sough of the wind stealing about white crosses. Dun and white; dun and white — the dun and grey of disillusion — luo lu luo grey of disillusion, the white of virgin hope! "Peace on earth." Yea, peace they, at least, have found — peace in the loss of old desires, and peace in the dawn of great, new hopes has been known; for which there can be no sound desire, save that it should be free from those ills that scared the last.

O narrow world of great past failures and of unspoken sufferings! Strange, misshapen sphere of so small greatness, and so great ills that scared the last.

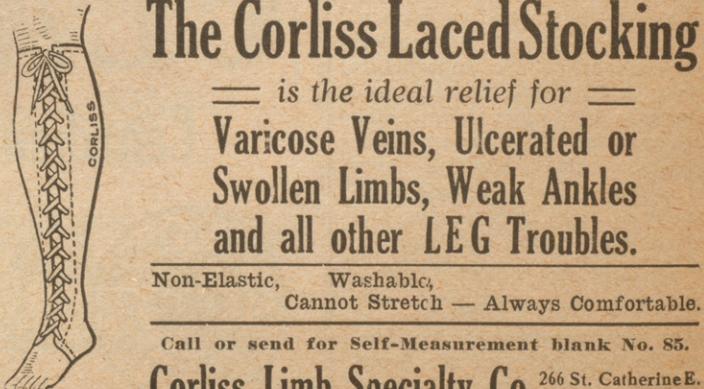
tleness! Cast eyes upon the dun and grey of those unmindful mounds, and take there thy own great future hopes, for there, too, the Christmas moon with soft, silvering caress, sends down its beams to whisper of peace and good will to the world from these mounds alone can ever offer release. And here, there can be no mockery; here indeed must the Christmas words be true! And from here only, and in the memory of those mounds alone, can we hope again to find the small, uncharted path that winds through bleak hills and sheltered valleys to a stable in the village of Bethlehem. For in the humility of that lowly building, and from the simple words of a Babe lying in a manger there, from these only can the spirit be resurrected which makes not a mockery of the Christmas cheer.

"Peace on earth; god will towards men." From the stable, one must go on through weary years and dawns of flickering hope, beyond the town, and beyond a great City, until upon another day, one stands upon an unwalled hill. Upon the greying sky a Cross blots its dark outline. The place is called Golgotha, and the Hill, Calvary. From these two pilgrimages alone may one learn the truthful meaning of the old, old words. And humanity today must tread the long, hard way, and learn again the spirit from the Manger to the Cross.

To the old Jerusalem, in its pomp and glory, its triumph and its sin was the first message brought. To the modern Jerusalem in the crisis of materialism and the spirit of man in struggle sounds the throbbing Voice, "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem! how many times would I have gathered you unto Me, and ye would not!" And still the sounds of strife, and the darkness of uncertainty, and the harsh scoffing at those, who would speak of the things of the spirit, steam upwards from a seething sphere. Shall the peace be for a day alone? Shall the generous belief, the kindly confidence, the spontaneous hope be for these hours alone? Can we not hold the spirit of Christmas, can we not retain one small ray of its permeating glory for the life of the weeks that follow? "May there be Peace; on earth good will towards men."

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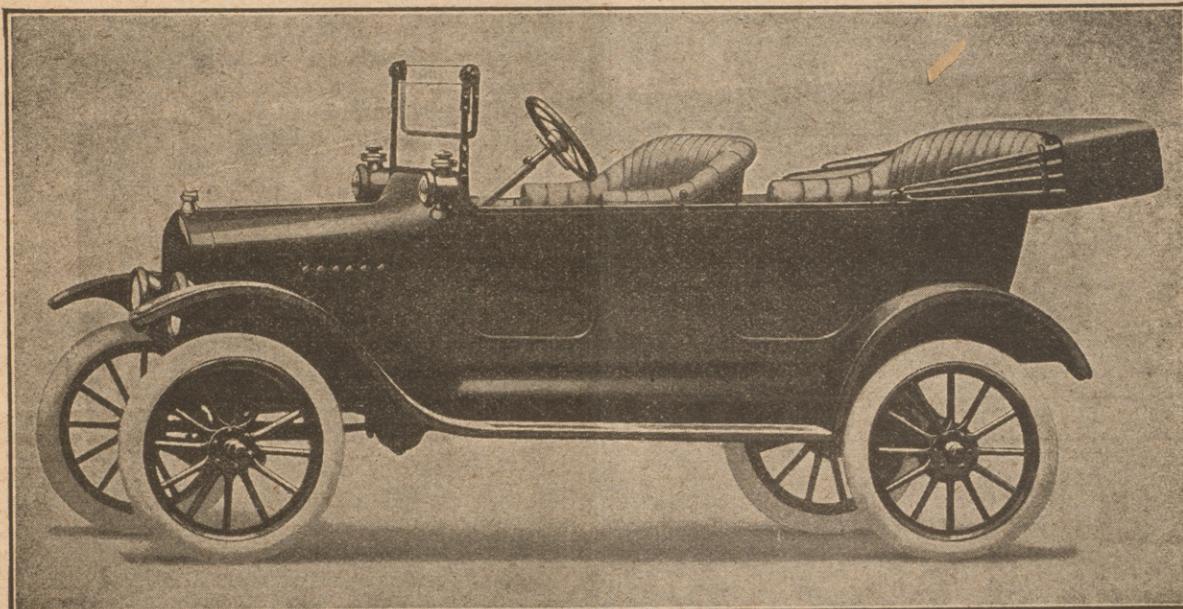
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The Call of Christmas



CHRISTMAS is perhaps the best time of the year for all of us to reflect on what we have done for our fellow-men, what we have omitted to do for them, and what we should pledge ourselves to do for them before Christmas comes around again. Whether in the broad arena of national affairs or the privacy of the home, we should take stock and be self-critical in these things. As a people and as individuals we have measured success and happiness too much in terms of money. There is more talk of the perils of the exchange situation than the perils of selfishness. It is time we measured success and happiness in terms of service. If we fail to do it, in these restless days, we are in grave danger. The world needs a new social order based on the message of Christmas Day. It has needed it for a long time. Now it is calling for it with a clear voice and remarkable insistence. Are you and I listening? What are you and I doing this Christmas Day?

President, Fifth Sunday Meeting
Association of Canada.

A Week's Armistice

THE Christmas season brings a sort of truce to the eternal world war, during which period every one tries to hold good relations with those with whom they are associated and expresses good wishes in the name of the Prince of Peace. The truce this year calls to the mind of the writer a small incident witnessed several years ago in a German city. The editor of a small weekly paper was scolding in most vehement manner the head printer for various faults in the proof "pulls" that had been taken. In the midst of this the head printer sneezed, and according to a widespread fashion in many European countries, the editor uttered the one word "Gesegnete" (God bless you)—for in olden days a sneeze was held to be a sign of the first approach of disease. But the blessing was only in passing, and the scolding was then resumed and given in unstinted measure.

The present position is sometimes like that. In the midst of great industrial struggles there is this pause and interpolation of a peaceful wish, but it is to be feared that the real Christmas spirit has so far failed to be anything more than a mere seasonable affair. There can be no "peace on earth and good-will towards men" until amicable relations between employers and employed, between capital and labor, have been established, nor until the spirit of militarism, whether expressed in armies or in autocratic forms of government, has been banished for ever. Men and women have learned to throw over empty forms and meaningless phrases. The Germans always made the Christmas festival essentially one for the child, and, forgetting its meaning to the adult and to the nation, they fell into the thrall of militarism and materialism.

The first complete calendar year after the cessation of hostilities finds the world in the throes of some of the greatest and most acute problems it has ever been called upon to face, and if these are to be solved without fighting, it will only be by the making permanent of the spirit of the Christmas season.

Just Water

WE are back to the season and the beautiful social custom of cutting off a family's water supply if the bill is not paid six months in advance.

About 50,000 people in the city of Montreal get behind in their water bills every year. Many of them manage to scrape up enough money at the last moment to preserve continuance of their supply. Many others are unable to pay the bills in time, however much they may wish to do so, and on them the blow falls.

Not only is their water supply cut off, even though there be sickness in the home, but their neighbors are forbidden by law to help them out in the matter. I am glad to know from long experience in the districts where the "cut-off" man with the big key is a familiar sight that the neighbors of stricken families break the law rather frequently. Many a time I have seen pails of borrowed water sneaked up back lanes. I suppose that, having failed to inform the police or the water authorities, I have been an accessory to the crime and liable to be dragged to court and, perhaps, sent to pail. If I ever get convicted of such a crime, I am sure that I will get a life term for cheeking the judge and saying insolent things about the law.

The city of Montreal is partly supplied by the municipal system and partly by a private corporation, the Montreal Water and Power Co. In the case of the municipal system, I am told that civic water department officials order the water cut off when bills are overdue, and, when complaint is made, civic health department officials order it turned on again, on account of the obvious danger to the community from unflushed closets. It is a pretty situation.

So far as the Montreal Water and Power Co. is concerned, the claim is made that the company is selling water as a grocer sells bread, for a reasonable profit on capital and labor invested; that the company has the same right as is exercised by the grocer to stop the supplies when bills are not paid; that if supplies were not cut off few persons would pay water bills and the company would be financially ruined and unable to continue its service.

All this sounds quite reasonable, within its own line of thought, but the thought that impresses me is the admission that humanity is secondary to the financial system. "Pay up or die" is the logical conclusion of the proposition. And that is the antithesis of Christianity.

All human beings are entitled to a minimum of subsistence. Even the burglars and the murderers get that in the penitentiaries. Frequently the pickpocket is better fed and cared for in jail than many a child of decent workers, or the workers and their wives themselves. Some of the objects of charity are better clothed and fed through charity than many decent families who only need half a chance to remain decent and independent without charity. This is no criticism of charity givers or charity receivers.

One proof of the lack of subsistence where there should be no lack is the fact that many homes unknown to social agencies, and not desiring to be known to them, are without water, the prime necessity of life. Where there is no water it can usually be taken for granted that there are other difficulties with regard to food, clothing and shelter, even if the windows are clean and the curtains fresh.

You and I know very well that water should never be shut off from any home for the sake of that home and the neighboring homes (I do not think that bread should be shut off, either, but let that pass in the meantime). We know that we cannot in a day revolutionize the whole system, though we can make a beginning. We can begin by demanding that the municipal service be supplied free to all homes, and the necessary revenue drawn from other sources. It is done elsewhere. Then we can plan that the Montreal Water and Power Co. shall become part of the municipal service. Right away we can ask both city and company to exercise a little more humanity in the matter of turning off water, to make some sort of direct enquiry, or co-operate with other agencies in the matter. I have known cases where a promise to pay the bill within three days was ignored by the "cut-off" men, and where housewives, suddenly descended upon, were not allowed to draw a kettleful of water for the evening meal.

Many of you, more able and influential than I, can do a lot of good in these things as a temporary measure. Just think of the homes that are not only without the most ordinary comforts and pleasures of Christmas but are without . . . water!

Too many persons are over-anxious about praying for their own happiness. They would be happier if they would only pray more for the happiness of other people.

If you do not see it in the other papers, maybe you'll find it in the Railroader.

Private Property

(By Rose Henderson.)

Lord Leverhulme, one of Great Britain's most distinguished employers of labor, in his speech delivered recently in Toronto said:

"Two thousand years ago, a Greek philosopher, Aristotle, stated that it had been proved that to make and produce the finest type of men and women there must be private ownership, I am speaking to an audience here that would feel if they did not own the business they were engaged in to a certain extent, in some cases fully, in others as shareholders, in others as partners, that they will lose so much of the joy of living and so much love of expansion that the game would be hardly worth the candle. I venture to say that any business man who has succeeded has loved his business, more because of the opportunity of deve-

loping himself in it and proving what he could do than for the dollars and cents he has ever got out of it."

Finer words have never been spoken, but Lord Leverhulme did not need to go back 2,000 years to the philosophy of Aristotle to drive home his point. This is the philosophy of the common man in the street to-day. I agree entirely with his lordship that only when men and women are in possession of private property, can they develop the best that is in them, only through that can the thoughts of great men be absorbed, can mind be developed, can the human being be lifted out of the animal existence. Men and women in the forefront of the great labor movement do not object to ownership of private property. What they do object to is the private ownership of private property. Upon this fact rests the cause of the greatest upheaval ever reported in a world whose history is replete with revolution.

Millions of men, women and children are mere cogs in the in-

THE WISH OF A MERRY CHRISTMAS TO ALL, AND THE HOPE THAT THOSE ASSURED OF A MERRY CHRISTMAS WILL THINK OF THOSE NOT SO ASSURED, AND THINKING THUS, DO SOMETHING.

dustrial machinery of the world. There is neither art, inspiration nor self-expression in what they do. How can a man who plays but a hundredth part in the production of a boot give expression to himself or make himself believe he is a shoemaker, or a coat maker who merely cuts the cloth by machinery and has nothing more to do with the fashioning of that garment, take a pride in the finished product or believe himself to be a master craftsman? Yet that expression is more than anything else, necessary as are the dollars and cents. I believe that a great part of the basic and fundamental causes of the social unrest is based on this fact. The daily grind of our machine civilization kills initiative, kills self-expression, kills the soul and mind of the great army of people who delve and toil in factory, mine and shop from sunrise to sundown. We must have a cooperative commonwealth where every man, woman and child will feel a common interest and common ownership in what he or she works at. "An opportunity to develop himself and to show what he could do". Then and then only will life be worth living and peace assured.

A man like Lord Leverhulme, coming up from the ranks of labor, does not need to be reminded that millions of human beings, no matter how hard they may toil, possess no private property and never hope to this side of the grave.

Millions own neither the house they live in, the bed they sleep on, nor the job they work at. The very clothes on their backs are often not

theirs, bought as they are on the instalment plan. Even the labor power within them they cannot sell as they will; they must sell to the master willing to buy, and, since this is the only thing between them and starvation, much as they might be tempted to withhold it, they cannot. They must sell or starve.

Truly for human beings such as these "the joy of living" and the "love of expansion" so essential, so jealously guarded by his lordship in his defence of private property, is lacking in their lives, and it is the realization of the need for private property in the lives of all, if pauperism, disease, insanity, prostitution and the idleness of both rich and poor are to be stamped out, that is animating the labor movement the world over to a spirit of divine discontent. Not until every man is assured of the means of making his living his own private property can there be joy, peace or self-expression for the masses.

Not until every man is a shareholder and partner in the production of the essential things of life can there be inspiration in labor, incentive to genius, buoyancy of spirit, love of comrades and brotherhood. His lordship admitted this when he said: "I am sure I am speaking to an audience here that would feel if they did not own the business they were engaged in to a certain extent, in some cases fully, that they would lose so much of the joy of life, and so much of the love of expansion, that the game would be hardly worth the candle".

That sums up the world unrest. Women are driven to desperation to keep their children. They give up in despair and say the game is not worth the candle. The miners of England, the steel men of America, the railway men of France, the coolies of China, the serfs of Russia, the peons of Mexico, all are in profound agreement with Lord Leverhulme that without private property they know there is no joy in life, no chance of expansion, and the game is not worth the candle.

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Proportion of the Organized

What is the Percentage of the Organized Workers in the Organizable Occupations of the United States?

(By J. W. SULLIVAN, New York Typographical Union.)

When Elbert H. Gary, speaking at a meeting of the American Iron and Steel Institute, asserted that "from 80 to 90 per cent or more of labor in this country is non-union", he intended the assertion to be of use chiefly among his class of anti-union, plutocratic employers and their retainers, to mislead the masses of unorganized, un-Americanized foreign labor, ignorant as to the strength of trade unionism in the United States. This is one of the stock-in-trade "thumpers" so often repeated by the imitators of Chairman Gary that it is being echoed in a part of the public press which should know better. Its untruth comes to light on a moment's examination.

The latest census gives the number of persons "in gainful occupations" as:

Males	30,000,000
Females	8,000,000

Total 38,000,000

This total was thus classified:

		Pct.
Agriculture	12,650,000	33.2
Domestic and general service	3,770,000	9.9
Professional service	1,770,000	4.4
Public service	460,000	1.2
Clerical service	1,700,000	4.6
Trade	3,600,000	9.5
Total	23,900,000	62.8
Extracting minerals	965,000	
Manufacturing and mechanical work	10,658,000	
Transportation	2,637,000	
Total	14,100,000	37.2
Grand total	38,000,000	100

In no country are workers of the first group (23,900,000) organized to any extent in trade unions.

In the second group (14,000,000) besides wage workers there are employers big and little, the higher salaried employees, young persons learning trades, unskilled, unassimilated foreigners, craftsmen in small industries or in non-industrial communities and numerous persons self-employed. Only estimates can be formed for the numbers in these classifications, which either have interests apart from those of the wage workers or in all countries are unorganized.

In this group of 14,000,000 are there 2,000,000 or 4,000,000 employers and high-salaried employees? Are there 2,000,000 or 4,000,000 youths of the apprentice age? Are there 2,000,000 or 4,000,000 adults in its other categories? These queries, when put to statisticians,

union influence whenever there is a strike. Statistics fail to enumerate these potential unionists.

The wage conflict being most active in industrial centres, the workers in them are in general thoroughly organized. The more highly skilled trades in many American communities have an effectiveness in unionized labor of 100 per cent.

Yet employers' spokesmen go on repeating that "the trade unions represent 10 per cent (or 15 per cent) of American labor", that only "one-eighth (or one-tenth) of the workers" are in trade unions in the United States. "Here are the official figures", they say: "Thirty-eight million workers; less than four million unionists". They substitute "workers" for the census phrase "persons in gainful occupations", and thus make up their fiction.

In the light of foregoing analysis of the census statistics the American trade unionists have the better of the argument. They can certainly claim more without venturing into vague probabilities. They can admit that the census figures are not fresh, but none others except rough estimates are to be had. They can also admit that in the first of the groups mentioned are some wage workers possibly organizable. They can further admit that in the A. F. of L. are comprised more than one hundred thousand Canadians. But, these modifications made, the percentages here claimed for union labor are not seriously affected. It is to be kept in mind, too, that in the A. F. of L. statistics there are included neither the independent unions nor the I. W. W.

Under-rating the numerical strength of the American trade

union movement is frequently accompanied by an over-rating of the British movement. A member of an American employers' commission was recently quoted in the "London Times" as saying: "While your workers are 85 per cent organized in unions, the trade unions of the United States have only about 10 per cent so organized", and the impression that the proportion given to Britain is a fact seems to prevail generally.

But the statistics for Britain do not show 85 per cent of "the workers" organized. Far from it. Mr. H. G. Williams, in a carefully prepared paper read at the annual convention of the British Industrial League in August last, estimated that in 1906 there were in the kingdom 19,442,000 "occupied persons", of whom 1,000,000 were income tax payers, the remaining 18,420,000 having incomes under £160 (\$800) a year. For the latter the groupings were:

Agriculture	1,690,000
Domestic service	2,050,000
Commerical, professional	2,240,000
Persons working for themselves	3,920,000
Manufacturing trades	6,410,000
Railways	610,000
Mines and quarries	1,000,000
Casual labor	500,000

18,420,000

The four classifications last named in the table number 8,520,000. If, as reported at the Derby Trade Union Congress in 1918, the number of British trade unionists was 4,500,000, and the foregoing table as a whole warrants an estimate of about 9,000,000 persons organizable, the proportion organized in Great Britain is somewhere about 50 per cent.



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SOCIAL AGENCY PUBLICITY

(By Kennedy Crone.)

As a journalist I took special interest in the remarks of Mr. Howard Falk, in his recent survey of 60 social agencies in Montreal, concerning the lack of human appeal in the annual reports of many of the agencies. Pages of names of donors and other flat, stale and uninteresting data crowded out the story of the work of the agency, teeming as that often was with the "human interest" that would have the direct effect of catching the attention, and perhaps the service, of many people who threw the prevalent kind of report into the waste paper basket without a second thought.

Three cheers for Mr. Falk from all the newspaper men and women who have been compelled by stern duty to read those reports and turn them into stories for the next day's papers!

In my time I have had to handle many of these reports; I was always a kind of "goat" for that sort of thing, because I was supposed to have some interest in social welfare. Sometimes, having more than a glimmer of the real stuff that lay behind the dead pages of the reports, I "butted in" to the particular institutions to try to get that real stuff. "Butted in" is the right phrase; I was the newspaper office "goat" to begin with, and the perpetrators of the reports generally had the same notion.

"There is nothing more to say", said one dignified person to me, icily, when I had gone out of my way to dig up a story; "it is all in the report in your hand, and I would ask you to be particularly careful to get in all the names of the friends of the institution. If we wanted anything more in the papers your employer would have been so informed".

Every reporter knows that kind of thing. He usually keeps his mouth shut when it is "handed to him", but it would be a revelation to the dignified persons to learn how quickly their "measure" becomes known throughout the newspaper fraternity and what damage the institutions suffer thereby with the reading public. A reporter can be ordered to do a certain report in a certain way; no editor yet lived who could order him to be enthusiastic and proud of craftsmanship regarding that report, and without that enthusiasm and pride a good cause may be lost, even although the reporter carries out the strict letter of his duty. It is a difficult thing to explain in a few words. I hope that some time some journalist will go into it fully for the use of those whose business or hobby brings them in contact with journalists.

There is another rather common type of social agency official, not

as bad as the dignified person, sometimes a genial soul who means well, who, when approached for a newspaper story, ties the reporter to an office chair, fills his lap with those awful reports, and dictates, word by word, what he or she wishes to have said in the papers. Often he or she has not the ghost of a notion as to what is a newspaper story helpful to the institution.

If the reporter tries to suggest tactfully that he would rather do the questioning, and be left free to poke around in his own way, selecting what his experience teaches him is "hot stuff", he is liable to be told by the official that the official knows the subject much better than he does, which is quite true, and therefore is in a better position to know what sort of publicity will laid the institution, which is quite untrue.

Sometimes I have tried to put the journalist's case like this, though perhaps not so bluntly: "Really, I want to help you. I came here, under orders, it may be, but willing to add to duty my best personal intentions as one interested in social work, willing to give more than duty obliges me to give. You know your particular work better than I can possibly know it, and I depend upon you for bald facts and answers to definite questions. On the other hand, I know the business of publicity better than you can possibly know it. I earn my living by it; I doubt if you could, even if you do have a conceit, quite a popular conceit, that you could run a newspaper with your eyes shut. I know what is helpful publicity and I know what is not helpful, from many tests in personal practice and from the experience of other journalists. You regard me as some sort of a messenger boy to report in shorthand what you say. Shorthand is one of the minor qualifications of a reporter, and reporters are often more important than editors, though I have neither the time nor the wish to give you a course in these elementary lessons of journalism. Your ideas as to publicity are crude and lifeless, and useless, if not damaging, to the work you and I wish to see progress. You run the institution. Please let me run the publicity. You would not tell your plumber how to solder a joint, but here you sit telling a professional journalist how to get and present a story. I want to look over your institution in my own way, alone if I want to; I want to speak to the janitor or to any official or inmate if I want to, without any formality. I want to see the records I ask for. I will get my own impressions and my own stories. Then I will write something. You may find fault with

it because you see things from a different outlook, and, if I may

say so, probably a faulty outlook. You may even think it will do you injury. Probably it will do you good. Please try to believe that I am bringing my training and experience in my sphere to bear upon the results of your training and experience in your sphere, so that I can be of assistance to you".

Some time ago I was, by invitation, in an assembly of fairly well-known men and women—made so by the humble reporter, though they would probably deny it indignantly—for the purpose of discussing a certain social welfare idea. They covered many phases of it. Always they came back to press publicity, the need of it, how they would get it, and how they would use it. They regarded it as incidental, but it would persist in bobbing up all the time. I learnt more about how not to go about publicity in one hour than I had learnt in 21 years in the business of making newspapers.

Most of those present were quite sure that they knew all about publicity, and framed their particular demands for it with a confidence and an offhandedness that both amused and distressed me. In passing they threw so many vocal bricks at the knaves and fools who ran newspapers for a living that I shrank back into my seat lest someone notice me and turn me over to the assembly to be tried and hanged to the chandelier. I sneaked away before closing time, my nerves jingling. Outside in the corridor I met two reporters on duty for that particular meeting. They told me that it was a semi-private meeting, but that they expected some "nut" would come out later and graciously give them a "line on the stuff". Both shrugged their shoulders wearily, resignedly, as if to say "What's the use?" They were representative of the hub of the whole movement, and knew it.

They were kicking their heels in a corridor, fully aware of the significance of that, just as fully aware that they could not hope for a change of reasoning and perspective, doubtless smooth and polite to "some nut" when he or she did come out,

inwardly disgusted and contemptuous.

Publicity is a skilled process with many queer sides to it. One does not find railway companies or other great business or political organizations depending wholly on lay officials for the right sort of publicity. All have experts on the job, and practically all the best of these are journalists or ex-journalists. Most social welfare agencies cannot afford, of course, to pay for the services of trained journalists. I do say that they might at least give trained journalists their co-operation without lording it over them too much. If they did that, they might get help that would eventually tend to put life into dead annual reports and other dead records and propaganda.

Journalists, as a class, are fairly well acquainted with social ills, their duties constantly bringing them in touch. Their general knowledge of them often exceeds that of the general knowledge of the social worker, although the social worker exceeds, of course, in detailed knowledge of the particular subdivision of social trouble with which he or she is concerned. Knowing these ills as they do, many journalists have kindly feelings towards social agencies until someone crops up to run a file over them.

Only three times in my own dealings with practically all the social agencies in Montreal, and I know that my experience is a rather common one, did I come upon persons in authority who knew enough about the newspaper business not to claim omniscience, who made journalists feel that they were welcome, and who were willing to give them some latitude in getting and presenting stories. These persons always secured better, more helpful, publicity for their institutions.

Mr. Falk's criticisms are worthy of examination, possibly of even more serious examination than he had in mind when he wrote them. I hope that I have enlarged the field for thought and discussion in the connection.

Kennedy Crone.

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Labor Journalist in Manufacturers' Association

(By Kennedy Crone.)

Mr. R. W. Gould, a reporter of the staff of the "Montreal Daily Star", and one of the best-known and most able journalists in the city, has just been appointed secretary of the Montreal branch of the Canadian Manufacturers Association.

Newspaper offices produce many fine journalists, but they are unable to hold many of them on account of the low wages and other disagreeable conditions of work. Small armies of Montreal's best journalists are not in journalism to-day, but are holding important executive and other positions in big businesses. Publishers complain that good journalists are becoming harder and harder to get. The real trouble is that they do not know how to treat them when they have them. Amongst the ironies of the game have been pleas for better salaries for school teachers, written by men and women just as poorly paid, often working twice as many hours, but of whom nothing is ever heard "in the papers".

If an increase of \$5 a week were asked, the asker would usually be regarded as a "kicker". So he or she leaves the business and gets an increase of from \$15 to \$60 a week, not to speak of securing reasonable hours of labor and freedom from some of the other unnecessarily-unpleasant feature of newspaper life. He or she is generally taken into another business because of the knowledge and experience, and the spirit, acquired in journalism.

To jump back to the specific case of Mr. Gould, it is a feature of the appointment that Mr. Gould has had considerable acquaintance with the labor movement. He did a great deal of the labor reporting for the "Star", and is the personal friend of many labor leaders, who recognize in him someone who knows their work and is trying to be fair and square. He is also chairman of the "Star" chapel of the News-writers' Union of Montreal, which is allied to organized labor.

It is a healthy and progressive sign that the Canadian Manufacturers Association is taking into its service a man equipped as he is with the knowledge of how to deal with labor matters with sympathy and understanding. It has been a just criticism, made by organized labor for a long time, that the employing class was deficient in knowledge of the labor movement, and therefore distrustful and sanguinary in attitude in many instances where better knowledge would have led to better understanding.

All good journalists put their souls into their calling. If they did not, they could not stand its drudgeries and difficulties as long as they do. When compelled to leave

Burn all the books which teach hatred. Let us develop reasonable men, capable of trampling under foot the vain splendor of barbaric glories, and of resisting the sanguinary ambitions of nationalisms and imperialisms which have crushed their fathers.—
Anatole France.

journalism they are still journalists at heart; you will find them snooping around to smell the printer's ink, to meet old comrades and to impress their right to tribal recognition on the new ones. So far as the News-writers' Union is concerned (which is to say, so far as the great majority of Montreal journalists are concerned), Mr. Gould will continue to have authority to wear his badge as a union journalist, provided he pays his dues. So that, far from squeezing him out of the tribe, it is entirely up to him!

Brain and Brawn

Wednesday evening, December 3.—From one end of the great Y.M.C.A. assembly Hall to the other, a sea of upturned, hopeful faces. Young, middle-aged, some even entering into the sear of life, without distinction of race or creed, all gathered together under one roof in a common cause—the cause of brotherhood. In their eyes a new-found gleam of freedom; a square tilt to the jaw and tightly-drawn lips that spelt determination.

They are bank-clerks of Montreal. Six hundred strong they have gathered together to pledge their honor in the cause of organized labor.

It was a noble sight. Even the dullest in the hall could sense the almost revolutionary significance of what was going on under their eyes. There seemed to be something in the air that told of dreams coming true; of prophesies fulfilled. For were not the brain-workers of Canada throwing the strength of their numbers whole-heartedly under the aegis of Labor — of the American Federation of Labor itself?

There was speechmaking and some history-telling, some short and pithy, some rather lengthy, but on the whole interest never flagged, and the closing words of the speakers were always drowned in applause.

But that was not the great point for those who had eyes to see and ears to hear. The great abiding truth that blazed itself into all hearts was that the long-sought union of brain and brawn had come and come to stay.

COMMON TENDENCY. — "It is reported that the ex-kaiser is trying to get back into politics."

"Seems to be human nature," replied Farmer Corntassel. "Every wood-sawyer I've managed to get sooner or later quit work with a chip on his shoulder."

The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada

Its Only Aim Is The Welfare of The Masses.

The people of a nation cannot advance beyond the men who make its laws, and the Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada exists to see to it that the workers by hand and brain are directly represented in the law-making bodies of the Dominion; to find, train and elect the right men of our own class in order to secure the kind of legislation that will protect and advance the interests of the workers.

It will wage warfare on plutocracy, despotism, economic privileges, and upon all the evil forces which burden the people and rob them of that happiness of living which is their fundamental right.

It is a non-partisan educational and political association, and because of the manner in which it is organized can never become the instrument or plaything of a small group of any class, particularly of wealthy men. The aim is the attainment of true democracy.

WE PLEDGE OURSELVES:—

To support all municipal, provincial and federal educational plans where the evident purpose is to raise the standard of education in enlightened and progressive ways; to present truthfully and fearlessly through the medium of Fifth Sunday Meetings and our own press, the "Canadian Railroader", the latest and most important political, social and industrial developments;

To advocate the abolition of property qualifications for the franchise or for election to public office; the adoption of the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, and of proportional representation in all forms of public government; universal suffrage for both sexes, on the basis of one person, one vote; the transfer of taxes from improvements, and all products of labor, to land values, incomes and inheritances;

To advocate prison reform, including introduction of the honor and segregation systems, and abolition of contract labor; the enactment and rigid enforcement of child labor laws; pensions for mothers with dependent children; regulation of immigration to prevent lowering of industrial, political or social standards; development of the postal savings and parcel post systems; financial and other assistance to farmers through co-operative banks and by other means; government development of co-operative producing and trading associations for the benefit of the consumer;

To advocate extension of workmen's housing schemes and the labor bureau system; provision of technical education for every willing worker, according to his capacities; more effective inspection of buildings, factories, workshops and mines; minimum wages; a rest period of not less than a day and a half per week for every worker; government insurance of workers against sickness, injury and death; maternity benefits and old-age pensions; better Workmen's Compensation Acts; representation of the workers on all public boards and on boards for the supervision of private enterprises; union labor conditions in all government work; adequate pensions and opportunities for soldiers and their dependents;

To advocate freedom of speech and of the press, and a law compelling all newspapers and periodicals to publish in all issues a complete list of shareholders and bondholders.

"The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada" is financed entirely by its members who contribute \$2 a year in membership fees. If a local has been established in your city \$1 remains in the local treasury and the other dollar is sent by the local organization to our Dominion Headquarters, 60 Dandurand Building, Montreal, Que. In case no local has been established in your community, send the membership fee of \$2 directly to Dominion Headquarters.

The funds accumulating in the Dominion Headquarters are used for political and educational propaganda; the development of the organization; the preparation of pamphlets and leaflets and the financing of the various political campaigns where favorable opportunities develop, to elect our candidates. The treasurer is under bond and the books are audited by a firm of accountants.

An application blank will be found below. Merely fill out the application blank, buy a postal order for \$2 and send it to Dominion Headquarters. Your membership card will be forwarded by return mail. Join this great organization in the interests of education and clean politics. *Today is the day and this is the hour. Become a member now.*

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To the Secretary,

The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada,
General Headquarters, 60 Dandurand Building,
MONTREAL, QUE.

I hereby make application for membership in "The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada." I subscribe and agree to pay, while a member, the yearly fee of \$2.00 in advance.

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Amount paid \$..... Address.....

Date..... City.....

Province.....

Make all cheques and money orders payable to "The Fifth Sunday Meeting Association of Canada."

Official membership card will be mailed from headquarters, with copy of platform, constitution and general rules.

Exchange and Economic System

There has been deep relief in official circles at Ottawa over the settlement of the strike in the American soft coal mines, as the fuel situation was beginning to approach a point of serious danger to our industrial life and transportation system. Though the worst is over, we are not out of the wood yet and the stringent restrictions which were enforced by the fuel controller will have to continue in force for some weeks yet.

But scarce has one trouble seemed to disappear than another arises in the shape of the exchange situation. Canadian exchange is now at a discount of something over 10 p.c. in New York, which means that the Canadian dollar is only worth 90 cents there. Within the last few weeks there has been an unprecedented fall in all European exchanges on the U.S.A. On December 11th, the pound sterling which before the war was counted equivalent to \$4.86 was quoted at \$3.69. Canadian exchange is very closely related to British sterling exchange and the rapid fall of the latter may be regarded as partly responsible for present discount in Canadian money. But there is the further local factor that our own trade with the United States is very onesided. We buy far more from them than we sell.

In September last, Canada bought from the United States \$77,980,468 worth of goods and sold only \$42,634,583. The balance against us at the end of the fiscal year, though less than in previous years, will be somewhere around \$200,000,000. In ordinary times this was corrected by the fact that we sold to Britain much more than we bought from her and Britain in turn had to receive enormous remittances from her investments in the States, so that matters were made square by a process of mutual adjustment. The U.S.A. owed Brit-

ain, Britain owed us and we owed the U.S.A.

But the volume of British investments in the U.S.A. was enormously diminished by the war. The British Government commandeered in exchange for their own war loan stocks large holdings of British-owned American stocks and either sold or pledged them to American buyers. They also borrowed heavily from the American Government after the U.S.A. entered the war and the result is that instead of Britain being a heavy creditor of America as she was in 1914, the boot is on the other leg. She is due to make heavy payments for interest on her loans but has found it impossible to meet them for the moment. The American Government has consented to defer its claim for interest for some years and allow it to be funded to the time being. Thus the funds which were available to adjust Canada's adverse math of the terrible destruction balance with her neighbor are no longer available, and, to make matters worse, Great Britain is not even paying her indebtedness to us—she has used credits furnished by the Canadian Government to buy large quantities of goods here.

If she were in a position to meet her obligations, the present situation will soon adjust itself but there is no hope of any betterment in this direction for many months. The old country is plunging deeper and deeper into the financial morass which was the inevitable after-effect of the war. Its real effects are only now beginning to be realized. In the last days of October Mr. Austen Chamberlain, the British Chancellor of the Exchequer produced a revised statement of revenue and expenditure for the current year, having discovered that his calculations of last March were hopelessly wrong. It is not a pleasant prospect for the British taxpayer and its main outline is as follows:

	Budget	Revised	Difference
	Estimate	Estimate	
Revenue.	£1,201,000,000	£1,169,000,000	£ 32,000,000
Expenditure.	1,451,000,000	1,642,000,000	191,000,000
Deficit.	250,000,000	473,000,000	223,000,000

In the first place we find the British Chancellor of the Exchequer had underestimated his deficit by almost a half and in the second which is much more alarming Great Britain, which is in much better shape comparatively than any other European belligerent, will have a deficit this year exceeding 2 billions of dollars. The mother country will have her hands full settling her own house in order and obviously we will have to do the same.

Sir Henry Drayton in his wisdom recommends as a cure that we buy as little as possible from the United States. But it happens that we

and other products have to be secured from the south and the only real method of remedying the situation is for Canadians to sell more goods to the South. Yet here are the millers of Minneapolis clamoring for as much of our hard northern wheat as can be obtained and willing to pay as high as \$2.80 per bushel for it and yet the Government in deference to the clamor of the milling interests here, who are unwilling, despite their enormous profits of the past year, to pay any higher prices, decline to allow it to be shipped south. "Free trading by night" is going on freely along the frontier line in the West and such as indulge in it are reaping handsome profits. We lost our great chance of profitable trade relations with our neighbor in 1911, and it is doubtful if it will recur again for many years. President Wilson's last message suggests that the United States should now revise its whole tariff policy and in view of its new position of a creditor nation, give freer access to imports into its markets.

Sir George Paish, the English financial authority, insists that if America is to do her part in saving Europe from wholesale ruin, she must not only join in a scheme of international credits but must also buy more European goods. The protectionist forces in the U.S.A. are still very strong, but the free trade interest is growing; it has one great new bulwark in the great

shipping interest which has grown up since 1917. Shipowners are almost invariably free traders because they want cargoes both ways. Many American bankers also realize that America cannot maintain a high tariff policy and get her debts paid and great capitalists like Henry Ford and John Hays Hammond have openly avowed themselves as free-traders.

The U.S.A. is slowly but surely moving to the economic position in which Britain found herself at the time of the repeal of the Corn Laws. If the U.S.A. consents to fiscal adjustments which will give favorable access to her markets for Canadian goods, the divergence in money values would soon disappear, but the harm wrought in 1911 is not easily undone and it is a slight comfort to think that some of the people hardest hit by the exchange situation were in 1911 numbered among the ardent patriots who spent their time and vocal power in resisting a timely effort at better trade relations which would have at least been some insurance against the existing state of affairs. As the exchange with Britain is still strongly in our favor it will pay us to place orders there and one result will probably be an increase in imports from Great Britain as far as the tariff barriers we maintain against the mother country permit.

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MONTREAL

Had To Withdraw "Treat 'Em Rough" Ad

Employees of Seattle Post-Intelligencer Score
Editor In His Own Publication.

Disgusted with the labor-hating tactics of their employer and incensed at an advertisement which incited violence against members of labor organizations, the organized employees of the Seattle Post-Intelligencer held an indignation meeting, passed a resolution roundly denouncing the paper they work on and compelled that paper to publish it.

The author of the advertisement, Edwin Selvin, publisher of the Business Chronicle at Seattle, has been arrested upon a warrant, issued upon complaint by a postoffice inspector, the warrant charging that Selvin mailed a printed article tending to "incite murder and assassination."

What happened was this: Selvin published as an advertisement in the anti-labor newspapers in Seattle, Nov. 18, a full-page statement entitled: "The Thing — The Cause — The Cure." It assailed President Wilson, the officers and members of the A. F. of L., the socialists, the railroad brotherhoods, the Non-partisan League, and various other persons and organizations. Said this document:

"Real Americans must rise as one man in the righteous wrath of outraged patriotism. First, invoke such legal machinery as we have, and if that is not sufficient, THEN HASTILY CONSTRUCT SOMETHING FOOL PROOF. (Capitals were not Selvin's.) We must smash every un-American and anti-American organization in the land. We MUST PUT TO DEATH THE LEADERS in this gigantic conspiracy of murder, pillage and revolution. We must imprison for life all its aiders and abettors of native birth. We must deport the aliens."

Hits Labor Movement.

He referred to trade unions continuously as closed shop labor unions, and to them paid this tribute, among others:

"As to general causes of the intolerable situation now confronting

us, the closed shop unions — after considering the impotence and apathy the federal government has displayed until now — must bear full opprobrium and responsibility. For two decades the labor unions, taking advantage of the demagogic tendencies of the countless politicians in public office, have defied law and order with impunity. Dynamiting, arson, assault, and murder, coupled with coercion and intimidation, have been the favorite weapons in the class warfare they have conducted. This thing must come to an immediate end. The whole labor movement is putrid, its rottenness taints the atmosphere of every industrial centre. Every employer of labor is justified in refusing to renew agreements with existing closed shop labor unions as they now exist and function. The closed shop must be forever crushed in America."

These were some of the less dangerous of Selvin's statements. What he said about the President could not legally be reproduced.

The writer of this statement was released upon \$1,000 bail, awaiting action of the federal grand jury.

Meanwhile, the editor of the Post-Intelligencer felt obliged to publish on his front page an abject repudiation and apology for printing the "advertisement."

After releasing the apology, the editor of the Post-Intelligencer published the following in his issue of Nov. 20:

A Set of Resolutions

"A committee of the employees of the unionized mechanical departments of the Post-Intelligencer on Wednesday presented to the management of this paper a set of resolutions adopted by *viva voce* vote at a meeting held in the Post-Intelligencer composing room at 10.30 p.m. Tuesday, Nov. 18th. The committee asked for the publication of the resolutions—a request with which the Seattle Post-Intelligencer willingly complied. The resolutions follow:

"As members of the several trades employed in the production of your newspaper, the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, we make the following representations:

"We have been patient under misrepresentation, faithful in the face of slander, long suffering under insult; we have upheld our agreements and produced your paper, even though in so doing we were braiding the rope with which you propose to hang us; day after day, we have put in type, stereotyped, printed and mailed calumny, lie after lie, insult after insult.

"Little by little, as our patience

seemed to be unbounded, your editorial and business policy has encroached upon and further and further overstepped the bounds, not only of fairness and truth, but decency and Americanism itself. We have even meekly witnessed your unfair and reprehensible campaign of falsehood and ruin result in the suppression of the last medium of honest expression for our cause in Seattle, not only denying our brothers the means of livelihood but denying us a far greater boon—the American right of a free press.

"So long as these things appeared to be a part of your unfair fight against organization—our organizations and others—we have been able to endure them in the hope that at last truth must prevail.

"But there must be a limit to all things.

"In the page advertisement in the Post-Intelligencer of November 18, 1919, purporting to have been written and paid for by one Selvin, but which might as well have occupied the position in your paper usually taken up by your editorial page, your utter depravity as a newspaper, your shameless disregard of the laws of the land, your hatred of opposition, your reckless policy of appeal to the passions of citizenry, reached depths of malice and malignancy hitherto unbelievable. It is nothing less than exhortation to violence, stark and naked invitation to anarchy.

"Therefore, Be it

"Resolved, By the whole committee to your organized employees in meeting assembled, that if your business management cannot demonstrate its capacity, if your editorial directing heads must remain blind to the thing they are bringing us to; if together you cannot see the abyss to which you are leading us — all of us; if you have no more love for your common country than is manifested in your efforts to plunge it into anarchy, then as loyal American citizens—many of us ex-service men who very clearly proved our faith in America and its institutions—we must not, because we are unionists, but because we are Americans, find means to protect ourselves from the stigma of having aided and abetted your campaign of destruction".

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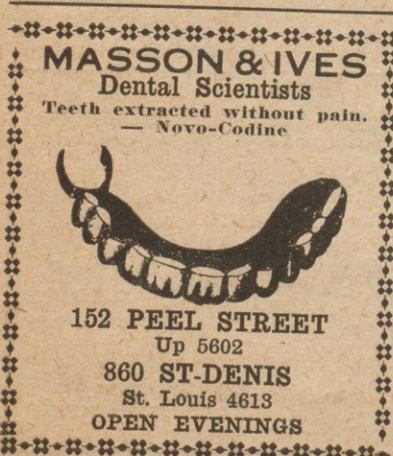
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In the hip pocket of every pair sold you

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"If after purchasing any brand of overalls bearing our registered label, you may find any defects in material or workmanship; or have any other reason for dissatisfaction, return the garment to your dealer who will gladly replace it without charge."

THIS PROTECTS YOU!

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THE SPIRIT OF CHRISTMAS.

THEY stood beside the helmsman at the wheel, the look-out in the bow, the officers who had the watch; dark, ghostly figures in their several stations; but every man among them hummed a Christmas tune, or had a Christmas thought, or spoke below his breath to his companion of some by-gone Christmas Day, with homeward hopes belonging to it. And every man on board, waking or sleeping, good or bad, had had a kindlier word for another on that day than on any day in the year; and had shared to some extent in its festivities; and had remembered those he cared for at a distance, and had known that they delighted to remember him.

—From Dickens' Christmas Carol.

WHERE Y.W.C.A. STANDS

The directors of the American national Y.W.C.A. — made up of women of wealth and social standing — during the past year put out an industrial programme. They propose to push it!

We'd like employers to commit to memory part of the Y.W.C.A. industrial programme here given:

1. The eight-hour day for America.
2. No night work for women.
3. A living wage. This should be the minimum in every occupation. "The industry that cannot pay a living wage is a parasite and is subsidized by charities."
5. Equal pay for equal work.
6. Collective bargaining. "Legislation cannot carry the whole burden of the solution of the labor problem; it needs collective bargaining. Women must act in groups." Because women do not organize and bargain collectively they "actually lower wages, and therefore living standards for both men and women."
7. Industrial democracy.

Every local Y.W.C.A. is asked to push this programme. These women are not radicals; they are conservative, but far-seeing, women. Judge Gary would be unwilling to find a place for his foot on this platform. These women are beckoning him and others to come up higher.

NEED FOR EDUCATION
 AND SOCIAL REFORM.

Addressing the London Teachers' Association at the Memorial Hall, Farrington Street, recently, H. A. L. Fisher, Minister of Education, strongly emphasized the need for social reform. If we are to pursue, he observed, a race of competitive armament and contemplate in the near future a repetition of war such as the war from which we have just emerged, if we are to believe that the countries of the world are again going to vie with one another in the preparation and equipment of great armaments by land, by sea, and in the air, then we shall despair of the social improvement of Europe.

One of the first educational interests and one of the first social interests of Britain, he continued, was to promote the idea that lay at the basis of the League of Nations. It was true, of course, that they could not exclude war as a possibility of the future, but they could do their best to inform and guide public opinion (and teachers had great opportunity for informing and guiding public opinion) in the direction which would strengthen the League of Nations.

After summarizing the financial situation, with a debt to be met of £8,000,000,000, Mr. Fisher said people all over the country were asking themselves whether a country which had incurred so great liabilities would be in the position to do the things it desired to do and which it had projected during the early stages of the war.

He insisted that it would be fatal to the social development of the country if, in order to reduce national expenditure, they scrapped educational and social reform schemes. They were not going to scrap the Education Act, but to administer it and administer it wisely and with due consideration to local needs. Education has never been a very popular subject in England. They had not the same faith in the value of education as some other countries, notably Scotland. And they were hampered in educational progress by the fact that a large part of educational finance came directly on the rates. As his distinguished predecessor, Lord Crewe, had said, "If an Englishman pays his taxes in sorrow, he pays his rates in anger." They were living in critical times of change and unrest. They, however, looked confidently to the teaching profession as the great stabilizing influence in society, making for moderation, enlightenment, and progress.

Ask Your Dealer

— FOR —

TIGER BRAND UNDERWEAR
 UNSHRINKABLE

Labor and the "Middle" Class

(By A. T. in Railway Review, London.)

In these troubled days, many speeches and writings have been devoted to the woes of that portion of the community embraced under the comprehensive title of the "middle class", and an interesting problem presents itself to those who choose to study the cause of the woes and their remedy.

In the railway carriage, omnibus, or tramways car one constantly hears members of this "middle" class airing their grievances and pouring their troubles into each other's sympathetic ears. Most of these worthy men, strangely enough, put the entire blame upon their lesser brethren, the workers.

Most of my readers, at some time or another, have heard from the lips of some essentially respectable and neatly attired citizen the expression "The working man is getting more money than ever, and I, with my fixed income, with the increased cost of living, etc., am getting poorer. The Government should put their foot down and stop strikes," etc., until one's blood boils to think that a signalman on the railway, married, with a family, for a full week's work, is not satisfied with the ample remuneration of £2!

The crux of the situation, of course, is that the worker being organized, is at last waking to a sense of his own strength and importance; is in a position to demand a living wage, and demands it, and in a good many cases is getting it after generations of low wages, poor conditions, and semi-serfdom. Through his own efforts, organizing ability, and improved system of education the worker has accomplished these things. Railed at, cajoled, intimidated, imprisoned, and in the teeth of a tempest of opposition and class hatred, he has struggled manfully until he has arrived at the threshold of his emancipation.

To-day he sees ahead of him and close at hand the dawning of the day when he will throw aside the last of his fetters and take rightful possession of his heritage. It has been a long and bitter fight against highly organized enemies. Capital, the aristocracy, the Army, Navy, Church, and the Law have all invoked their most malignant powers to try and crush the upward rise of the presumptuous worker, and, strangely enough, of his worst opponents have been that extraordinary sect, the "middle" class, for, to the average "middle" class man, Labor in its broadest sense is anathema.

To a disinterested onlooker it would appear that the claims of Labor to higher-wages, improved con-

ditions, and a voice in the political and economic rule of the nation were practically, if not entirely, identical with the aspirations of the fixed income; and capitalist-ridden "bourgeoisie", and such an onlooker, would be amazed to see the "middle" class wage slave making common cause with capital in its fight to crush the liberty of the vast masses of the people; and he would strive to seek a reason for so strange a phenomenon.

The "bourgeoisie" citizen has been brought up from the cradle to worship an inexorable fetish — "respectability" — and in consequence is ready to sacrifice comfort, liberty, and freedom to its worship. He has been taught that the rich men and sons of certain families were his superiors, and to them he must bow the knee, for they were the "really respectable people", who possessed blood of that highly unnatural tinge, a bright blue and who, although perhaps, insane, immoral, or degenerate, were the natural rulers of his country.

The workers, on the other hand, were "persons," horribly vulgar people, who worked in their shirt sleeves, and spoke a tongue that was unknown at Oxford or Cambridge. That the worker should demand a fair return for his labor, and in the enforcement of those demands should fling defiance in the very teeth of the "best" people, strikes the "middle" class gentleman as little short of sacrilege, or even blasphemy.

He regards the worker as a sort of necessary evil, who has his uses while he is content to work for what the capitalist class condescend to fling him but when he dares to aspire to reasonable hours, a living wage, and a share in governing himself, and framing and administering his own laws, then the worker's utility ceases, and he becomes an Anarchist, a Bolshevik, and a danger to the community, of which he, incidentally, himself is a more important member than all the "middle" class non-productive individuals put together.

How dangerous a tool the "middle" classes are in the hands of the capitalist! Fooled, flattered, and patted on the back by a capitalist Press, the bourgeois considers himself the backbone of the country, a splendid patriot, and roundly abuses the worker for earning a greater wage than he, never realizing how he is being duped and made to answer the purpose of the capitalist, who, in his heart, can only have the utmost contempt for such a flabby and easily lead creature.

So it goes on, keeping always his "respectability" fetish before him, and worshipping his black coat, and contented to work 56 or 72 hours per week at a desk for a pittance that a

laborer would reject with scorn. Blinding himself to his opportunities, the "middle" class "brain worker" plays the capitalist game from day to day.

Instead of organizing as the worker has organised, and throwing in his lot with the Trade Unionists, he stands aloof, declaring himself above the workers and producers, and miserably whines of his declining banking account and of the unreasonableness of the "common people" every time he is inconvenienced by a strike or trade dispute.

In his ignorance and senseless hypocrisy it behoves us to pity him; but we must realize the danger the "middle" class constitutes to the worker at the ballot box. He records his vote at the instigation of, and in obedience to, his capitalist daily paper's recommendation, or in imitation of the local nobility, whose views, ideas, mannerisms, and conversation he tries to ape; his vote invariably goes to swell the poll of the Tory candidate — "because, of course, he is a gentleman and so respectable."

Consequently he is the most unrepresented man in Parliament. Labor is there, and capital also; but the "middle" class dupe's interests are never considered, and so he gropes along, buffeted hither and thither, neither an organized worker nor yet an organized capitalist, neither fish, flesh, fowl, nor good red herring, but a weak apology and a dismal imitation of those who use him for the swelling of their dividends and protection of their interests.

Clearly it is the duty of Labor to open the eyes of the "middle" class, and point out to them the path which will lead to their salvation and regeneration; but their eyes will never be opened until Labor has applied to the task of sweeping from their vision the petty vanities, hypocrisies, and the self-satisfied smugness which are fast speeding them into the maw of the unscrupulous capitalists, who will, without compunction, bleed them dry.

Until this miasma has been cleared from the eyes of the "middle" class no progress can be made, but once they are taught to realize what a fool's paradise they have been living in, and learn to sink their ridiculous "superiority", then they can be brought into line with the workers and enter with them side by side as brothers into the struggle against the moneyed leeches who would, if they could, drive the proletariat back into the dark days of feudal despotism.

A splendid future awaits the worker, and if the "middle" class wish to enjoy that future the opportunity is theirs; but if they do not grasp it, all the whining, grumbling and self-righteous anger will not save them from the abysmal oblivion into which they will surely be flung when the worker comes into his own, which day is not very far distant.

RAPPING THE PRESS

(Railway Review, London.)

The process of trying to fool all the people all the time has come to the end of its endeavor, and the results of recent strikes and recent elections have shown that never in our generation has the vulgar Press been of such little influence. The unsensational journals of small circulation are exercising a magnificent influence, and it is to these that the Trade Unionist is looking for his information and his lead. The mass may buy the street journals for their football or their sport, but they are ceasing to be influenced by the insinuating news column and the misapplied leader.

The manifold educational influences arising out of the workers' movement itself and under the control of the workers' movement are rendering our adherents impervious to the outside influence. The Press has not yet realized that the organized workers are a great part of the community, with their common life within the community. The Press persists in regarding us as an extraneous growth with evil designs upon the community, and therein it has committed a great and a grievous error. They perpetuate the class war in the interest of the owning classes. They have lost the communal instinct they developed during the war, of which we had hope. It is in the instinct the workers have found themselves, and that is why the Press has miscarried and has lost its influence.

Teacher's Demand in Saskatchewan

The movement toward the unionizing of teachers in Saskatchewan has assumed such proportions that it is now the intention of the branches forming the organization known as the Saskatchewan Teachers Alliance to incorporate. The president, E. O. Walker, of Regina, reports that the alliance is making progress throughout the Province, and that the new branches are being formed in many centres.

In response to the Saskatoon teachers' request for an increase in salary, the school board has proposed to augment the bonus paid during the last two years from \$100 to \$200 and in addition to make the usual annual increase of \$60 as provided in the agreement between the board and the teachers. At a meeting of the teachers this offer was refused. A committee was appointed to open negotiations with the board.

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Capital Paid Up (November 30, 1919)	3,991,780
Reserve and Undivided Profits (November 30th, 1919)	4,081,004

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THE RIGHTS OF LABOR

(Editorial in Christian Science Monitor.)

If there is any nobler aim in human existence than work it has yet to be discovered. All really great men have been great workers, whilst idleness has been the aim of the traffickers in sensuality. The reason is very simple. The sensualist lives in his fancies; he is drunk with the opium of his imagination, and dreams as he sleeps by the lotus leaves of anticipation. Put him down before the mouth of the blast furnace or where the great trees are crashing in the forest clearing and he either falls to the ground or is roused into a sense of manhood. Your ironworker or your lumberjack may be of the earth earthy, but it is the earthiness of the viking or the conquistador rather than that of the Della Cruscan and the degenerate.

Nor, though every sin of repetition be incurred in the declaration, is the worker he alone who hammers on an anvil or pulls the lever of a locomotive, who works that is to say with his hands rather than with his brain. The face of the globe is scared with iron rails today because Stephenson built the Rocket in his head. The factory chimney shoulders its way over millions and millions of roofs not because James Hargreaves was a spinner of yarn, but because he was able to grasp the significance of an overturned spindle spinning on his cottage floor. Now, since even the hand cannot guide the machine without the action of mind, it is obvious that the greatest worker must of necessity be the deepest thinker. Gauged in this way, and it is the only way to gauge the situation, the Master-workman stands out as Jesus of Nazareth, the man who said, "I must work the works of him that sent me, while it is day; the night cometh, when no man can work." But he also said, "The laborer is worthy of his hire."

Work, then, is the great disciplinarian, as it is the great desideratum of the race; and this is equally so, whether the work be manual or

mental. The would-be worker should no more exist than the idler. He finds himself on the planet, without his own volition, and he has a right not to charity but to work, and his work is worthy not of a pittance but of a comfortable living. It is the business of government to bring about such a condition of affairs; and, in no circumstances, can the surrounding difficulties be advanced as a valid excuse for failure. It is the readiness of the world to accept failure with all its attendant excuses which constitutes the sinew of failure. The disconcerting factor in the existing conditions is not, however, so much the failure of government to make idle work, as the tendency of Labor to reduce the efforts of labor, and this at a moment when the world is crying aloud for increased productivity.

Labor, looking back over long centuries of remorseless toil, divorced from all the pleasant amenities of life and work, is, not unnaturally, unduly sensitive on this point. But this, again, is not the real crux of the position. The crux is that the iron of this remorseless toil has sunk so deep into the mentality of Labor, whether in the person of the shipright or the clerk, as to have caused him to come to look upon idleness as the very joy of riches, and to regard the reduction of his hours of labor to the vanishing point as an ideal corollary to a corresponding increase of pay. From the servitude of labor to the lotus-pool of idleness is, however, only from the pot into the fire. It is the contrast, not infrequently, between Dives and Lazarus, and the former ended in hell in torment. True work is the expression of a man's realization of mental activity, which is as far from the grinding toil exacted by the taskmaster as from the stupefaction of a self-indulgent idleness. Therefore, it is the business of Labor, today, not to escape from labor, but to make labor the joy of the laborer.

In order to be this its hours must be full, without being burdensome or excessive, and its recompense must be sufficient for all its just requirements. The laborer, that is to say, must cease entirely to be a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water, and must be afforded those

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opportunities for cultivation and recreation which have hitherto been entirely beyond his orbit. This is partially a question of hours, but it is even more a question of pay, though, of course, the two combine to produce the same economic problem. At present, the economic system throughout the world is conceived very largely on the ideal of the famous Rob Roy maxim, that he shall take who can, and he shall keep who can. Such an ideal is, it need not be said, frankly immoral and frankly one of war. And so it comes about that the world, in this question of Capital and Labor, is ranged in two opposite camps with the interests of the General Public piled, as it were, between them as the treasure to be striven for.

That, however, is another question, and an even greater one. The immediate question is the legitimate rights and aspirations of Labor, and it must be apparent to anyone, who will take the trouble to think at all, that the economic peace of the world depends on the answer to be returned. Various countries will attempt the answer in various ways. Russia is attempting by its means of the soviets; and the United Kingdom through the instrumentality of the Labor Party in Parliament. For the moment the United States hesitates between a purely industrial trades-union policy and the organization of a Congressional Labor Party. In the end, every country must choose the means best suited to its particular

national idiosyncrasies, the law of the survival of the fittest will be obeyed, but it is desirable, if not imperative, that it should discover these, and set them in motion with the least possible delay. In countries such as Russia and Hungary, where the democratic machinery can scarcely be said to have been kept properly oiled, trouble was, perhaps, inevitable. But in countries like the United Kingdom and the United States, which are governed for and by the people, there is no excuse at all for any form of sabotage. The will of the people must ultimately prevail, and what the people wills must be what the people mentally is.

Sabotage is, of course, a very general term, but it means loosely a violent and illegal method of effecting a change. It is something less than revolutionary and less than unconstitutional. It is a sort of unlawful combination plus violence. Eastern Europe is in the throes of revolution pure and simple. Central Europe has for months past lived on the quivering surface of a revolutionary volcano. It is the object of western Europe and the Americans to find a means by which progress can be at once normal and peaceful. This can be and will be achieved, in the individual case, in an exact proportion to the nation's adherence to the Golden Rule, and this adherence will be found, to be again, in every case, in the ratio of the nation's understanding of Principle.

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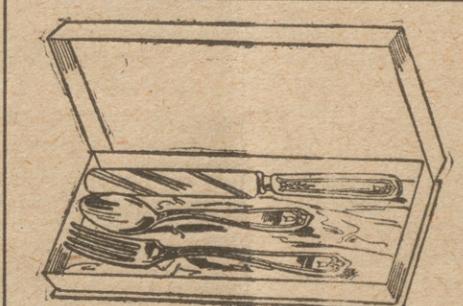
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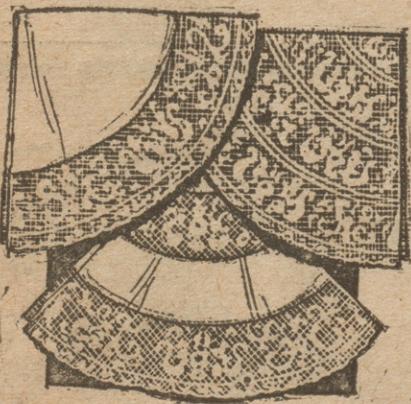
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